

THE LORDSHIP OF CHRIST

A Study in the Gospel and Theology of
New Testament Christianity

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PREFACE

The purpose of this dissertation on the Lordship of Christ is to present a distillation of the best results of modern research on the subject.

The author's thesis may be briefly stated. The affirmation, "Kurios Christos," is an expression of the faith of the most primitive Church. Its source is not to be found in the "originality of St. Paul," nor in the pre-Pauline Aramaic-speaking circles outside of Jerusalem through the influence of Greek religions, but is rather to be traced as near to the fountainhead of the primitive witness as possible, and is seen to be derived from the mind, the work, and the person of Jesus. This is not to say that the Graeco-Roman religions had no influence on the development of this concept, but rather that the central core of this affirmation is to be found springing from the uniqueness of His intentional claim. It is contended that Jesus' culture was largely Hebraic, and that He made His Messianic claim primarily within the bounds of this religious and cultural background. It is, of course, impossible to maintain a clearly defined boundary between the spheres of Israel and the outside world, yet it is right to recognize

that New Testament Christianity is to be studied in the main against its Hebraic background.

There is no necessity to give a reason for the study of Christology, nor to make a claim for its importance; for in the words of Karl Barth,

. . . Christology, is the touchstone of all knowledge of God in the Christian sense, the touchstone of all theology. . . . At this point everything becomes clear or unclear, bright or dark. For here we are standing at the centre. And however high and mysterious and difficult everything we want to know might seem to us, yet we may also say that this is just where everything becomes quite simple, quite straightforward, quite childlike.¹

The timeliness of the particularly study is significantly made clear by Visser t'Hooft in the following statement:

At a time when many American Churches realize the need for a restatement of the social gospel of the twenties and when the European Churches are at last beginning to discover their responsibility to the world, it would seem that that main theme is: The nature of Christ's Kingship and its implications for the Church and the world.²

The vast number of works treating with this subject in one way or another, which have appeared within the past few years, bear out the validity of Visser t'Hooft's statement.³ Actually it is not going far afield to see in current ecumenical trends

¹Karl Barth, Dogmatics in Outline, translated by G. T. Thompson, (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1949), p. 66.

²W. A. Visser t'Hooft, The Kingship of Christ, (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1949), p. 10. On page 52 he makes it clear that by "Kingship" he is speaking of the same reality as "Lordship."

³The large quantity of these works makes it unwise to list them here. The number of books quoted in the body of the thesis, and the Bibliography will demonstrate this fact.

and also in the new and revitalized awareness of the unity of mankind, an increasing consciousness of the unqualified nature of the Lordship of Christ, as it is seen to be contradicted by a disunited Church and a divided world. The implications of the recognition of Christ's Lordship, when it is seen that He and He alone is the absolute Master of the destiny of man, and that to accept that Lordship is to reject every other master or lord who seeks to have exclusive control and power over the individual, are especially relevant to this day when the trend is in the direction of centralized government with increased control over the lives of private citizens. The Church must be prepared to give new thought to the significance and the absoluteness of our Lord's claim over the lives of men, and this it is doing.

The thesis is so organized as to (a) seek first the primary elements which led to the Kurios-belief; and (b) investigate the extent of Christ's Lordship as represented in the earliest tradition.

The argument of the thesis proceeds along the following lines:

Chapter I. There is positive proof that the early community from the very beginning regarded Jesus as the certain fulfillment of the Jewish Messianic expectation. "Form criticism as well as the study of the speeches of Acts supports the plain testimony of the Gospels that Jesus was so regarded from

the first days of the church."⁴ Therefore it is essential to begin a study of this type with an introduction into the primary elements of Judaism's Messianic expectations, and this is the purpose of the first chapter. It does not attempt to present a clearly defined picture of these hopes, for such a thing never existed, but rather gives a portrayal of the hope for deliverance in its variety of expressions, with special attention to related Messianic titles.

Chapter II. The hopes of Judaism find fulfillment in the person of Jesus. The witness to this fact is found throughout the primary strata of the New Testament where it is discovered that there is a faith concerning the person of Jesus which could not be expressed in words signifying less than the confession, "Christ is Lord." This fulfillment is not in exact correspondence with the hopes of Judaism, but represents an original fulfillment which derives from the unique implications of the ministry, resurrection, and Lordship of Christ. Its essential core lies in the material which springs from the first of the Apostolic Age, and can only receive adequate explanation from the mind and the action of Jesus Himself.

What the early Christian believers and writers, for example Mark, tried to do was apply to him the highest conceivable categories, human and divine; but in the end these all proved inadequate, as the later church discovered; for

⁴Floyd V. Filson, The New Testament Against Its Environment, (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1950), p. 16.

Jesus means more, was more, and is more than any of these categories could convey.⁵

Chapter III. The Lordship of Christ is seen to have its basis in Jesus' Messianic claim; a claim which He knowingly made by virtue of His conscious filial relationship to the Father. It was this which He invited men to "come and see" for themselves. By virtue of His Sonship, Jesus is Lord of men.

Chapter IV. Although the death of Jesus at first appeared to terminate His messianic claim unconditionally, it proved to be the "wisdom and power of God" and the prelude to His Resurrection and establishment at God's right hand. The Resurrection represents the Divine historical vindication and the inauguration of Jesus' Lordship claim.

Chapter V. Chapter V deals with the role of the Church as it is seen to be the instrument whereby Jesus' Lordship is extended, an instrument which He intentionally established and of which He is ever the head.

Chapter VI. The ultimately absolute or cosmic significance of Jesus' Lordship, although appearing largely in the later material of the New Testament, is the natural and only conclusion to be derived from the reflection concerning His significance, if the redemption which He accomplished for

⁵Frederick C. Grant, The Earliest Gospel, (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1943), p. 164.

man is of final consequence.

In the body of the work there is a discussion of many of the views held concerning the related problems. However, it has not been intended to discover any exclusively correct schools of thought relating to these problems, but rather to indicate the strengths of each, and to point out how each serves to complement the rest, and the whole provides us with the closest understanding of the Lordship of Christ as set forth in the New Testament writings.

The critical approach to the historical and literary problems involved has been followed, the author believing that this represents the only wise and correct manner to face the world in which we live. It is intended that this criticism should not follow the common impression of "criticism," which is that it is both negative and destructive, but rather have as its true task the goal of finding the most primitive form of the Church's confession concerning the Christ, a simple affirmation which may best be expressed in the words, "Christ is Lord." After concluding this research, it is the author's firm conviction that the New Testament writers present a unified witness to this fact; that there is a convergence of thought on Jesus, who, as the Messiah long-expected by the Jews, although rejected and crucified, is now the risen Lord.

The author's indebtedness to a vast number of scholars is obvious throughout. Primary recognition is to be given to

Professors John Wick Bowman, William Manson, and James S. Stewart, whose class lectures and writings have furnished a large portion of the argument. Only slightly less indebtedness to the writings of Wilhelm Bousset, Oscar Cullmann, W. D. Davies, T. W. Manson, George Foot Moore, Vincent Taylor, and a score of others is to be mentioned.

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CHAPTER I

THE RELIGIOUS HOPE OF ISRAEL

It is assuredly true that the various conceptions of the coming deliverance or salvation of Israel and of the coming Messiah do not represent mutually compatible expectations, but rather hopes entertained by various schools of thought at different periods of time. Nevertheless, it has been the claim of Christianity from its inception that Jesus represented the fulfillment of the God-given hope of the religion of the Old Testament.

It is perhaps permissible to doubt whether in point of fact the essentially modern and critical, literal-minded and analytical temper which persists in taking separately and in isolation each of the several types and forms of the Jewish hope, and in interpreting them remorselessly *au pied de la lettre*, [In italics in original] is really quite the best mode of approach towards an adequate understanding of what is after all an essentially imaginative and Oriental religious literature; but however this may be, it is clear that what the Church actually claimed with regard to the Lord Jesus, was that, provided the Scriptures were interpreted not according to the letter, but according to the spirit, in him the lines met.¹

This is not coincidence as it were, but rather springs from the conviction of the early Church that its members made up the true people of God, the true Israel. Jesus, as the Messiah,

¹A. E. J. Rawlinson, The New Testament Doctrine of the Christ, (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1926), p. 16.

represented the climactic and decisive act in God's redemptive process, a process which had been uniquely manifested in and through the history of the chosen people, Israel. By claiming that Jesus was the Messiah, the fulfillment of Israel's hope, the Church was implying that the hope of Israel was God-given, that salvation was from the Jews.²

This claim must find its basis, if the thesis of this work be correct, in the mind of Jesus,³ a mind that sought expression, by word and act, in the thought forms of Judaism's religious hope. Therefore, it becomes necessary to present a resumé of the primary elements of this hope in order to develop a comprehensive presentation of the concept of Messiahship, or Lordship, which He claimed. The purpose of this chapter is to accomplish this task by examining briefly the historical and literary developments of these elements: an examination which, for the sake of clarity, is made, in so far as is possible, under the well-known titles of the Son of Man, the Servant of the Lord, and the Davidic Messiah.

Jesus' usage of the title "Son of Man" indicated the

²Jn. 4:22. Only a cursory glance at the kerygma of the early church is needed to see how it is developed around the Messianic prophecies of the Old Testament. See, for example, the chart at the end of C. H. Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching and Its Developments (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1944).

³The fact that Jesus was condemned by the Jews and put to death by the Romans is strong evidence that during His lifetime He made claim to being the Messiah, and as a Messianic Claimant lost His life. See Chapter III for further evidence.

importance of the term for His interpretation of His messianic role, and makes it an excellent beginning point.

Although there are a variety of opinions expressed by the scholars about many of the problems relating to this title, it is possible to present a number of points about which there is general agreement. There is good evidence for considering

ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου as a literal translation of the

Aramaic ܢܦܬܐ ܕܢܗܝܢ or ܢܦܬܐ ܕܢܗܝܢ ܕܢܗܝܢ, recognizing that the idiomatic translation would be ὁ ἀνθρώπος. ܢܦܬܐ ܕܢܗܝܢ

in Dan. 7:13, is generally understood to symbolize the saints of the Most High (7:27) as over against the figures of the four great beasts, seen earlier in the vision, symbolizing four pagan kingdoms; and may best be expressed as "one like a son of man" or "a human being." Likewise in biblical Hebrew

דָּן ܢ ܕܢ evidently means "human being" or "a member of the human race" in the generic sense.⁴

Our present knowledge and extant documents give evidence that the development of the doctrine of the Son of Man is relatively late. The use of דָּן ܢ ܕܢ in Ps. 8:4 can be only as "man" in the generic sense, and is in this form for the sake of parallelism, as it is in Num. 23:19; Isa. 51:12; 56:2; Jer. 49:18, 33; 50:40; 51:43; Ps. 80:18; 144:3; 146:3;

⁴This represents substantially the conclusion of Gustaf Dalman, The Words of Jesus, translated by D. M. Kay, (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1902); pp. 234-241, concerning the linguistic form of the expression.

Job 16:21; 25:6, and 35:8. Frequently in Ezekiel it is used to address the prophet, and likewise is used to address Daniel in Dan. 8:17.⁵ In Dan. 7:13 the Jewish doctrine of the Son of Man appears to have its beginning. Although the Son of Man may be nothing more than a human being, he is the figure which represents the purified Jewish race; and, arriving with the clouds of heaven before the Ancient of Days, is given an everlasting kingdom and dominion over all nations.

In the Similitudes of Enoch there is generally considered to be an enlargement of the Son of Man concept, growing out of Dan. 7:13. R. H. Charles believes that at this point the title became personalized and applied to a supernatural person, although, as T. W. Manson points out, it still may be considered in a corporate sense as representative of the elect nation.⁶ At any rate in the Similitudes he shall be a light

⁵There is the strong possibility that the use of "Son of Man" in Ezekiel casts a certain amount of light on Jesus' preference for the title. The picture of the Son of Man as one who has his "manhood" turned from weakness into strength by God, and also as one who has a message for all of humanity and not just for Israel alone seems particularly related to Jesus who was the very power of God, and whose message was concerned with the whole of mankind, as George S. Duncan, Jesus, Son of Man, (London: Nisbet and Company, 1948), pp. 145f., has pointed out. Nevertheless, the Son of Man of Dan. 7:13 seems to represent the major background for Jesus' usage of the term, as we've indicated below. See also Chapter III where Jesus' use of the title is discussed in greater detail.

⁶R. H. Charles, The Book of Enoch, 2nd edition, (London: Oxford University Press, 1912), p. 307, and T. W. Manson, The Teaching of Jesus, 2nd edition, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1935), pp. 228f., which is followed by John Wick Bowman, The Intention of Jesus, (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1943), pp. 202ff.

of the Gentiles, 48:4; he is existent before creation, 48:6; he rules over all, 62:6; he is given the sum of judgment as he sits on the throne of glory, 69:27; and he is born unto righteousness, 71:14. It is no wonder that most students look upon such a one in the Similitudes as a Supernatural Being.

Although R. H. Charles would date this work in the first half of the first century B. C., its pre-Christian dating is not certain, and it has never been demonstrated that Jesus was familiar with it.⁷

In the reply of Jesus to the question of the high priest: "Are you the Christ, the Son of the Blessed?" He quotes from Dan. 7:13. "I am; and you shall see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of Power, and coming with the clouds of heaven." (Mk. 14:61f.) It will be pointed out that there is no positive trace of dependence upon the ideas of Enoch in any of Jesus' sayings concerning the Son of Man.

The "Man" in II Esdras is the Anointed One whom the Almighty describes as His Son. He ushers in the Messianic Age but not the time of final judgment, which differs greatly from the Son of Man of the Similitudes. This book, written near the end of the first century A. D., again may give only an

⁷R. H. Charles, "The Book of Enoch," The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, (London: Oxford University Press, 1913), II, 171. A. M. Hunter, The Work and Words of Jesus, (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1950), p. 85; Vincent Taylor, Jesus and His Sacrifice, (London: MacMillan Company, 1937), p. 26; C. H. Dodd, The Parables of the Kingdom, (London: Nisbet and Company, 1950), p. 92, fn. 2.

indication of what beliefs were associated with the Son of Man concept at the time of its writing, and of itself cannot be relied on for pre-Christian views.

A great deal of attention has been given to a myth of a heavenly man from whom the actual human race and sometimes the present world is derived. This myth appears in various documents related to Gnostic and allied religious movements, and frequent attention is called to the possible relationship between it and the conception of the Son of Man in later Jewish and early Christian thought.⁸ As the limitations of this thesis will not allow for a detailed examination of the myth, we do well to quote William Manson concerning its possible relationship to the thinking of Jesus.

Before, however, any decision can be taken on the question of the source or ground of these ideas, the relation of the teaching of Jesus as a whole to the Iranian myth of the Heavenly Man needs to be considered, and here the evidence is not at all encouraging to the defenders of the myth-hypothesis. Nowhere in the Synoptic tradition is the Son of Man given any kind of ontological or cosmological relation to the world or to humanity. Nowhere does the soul or spiritual part of man appear as a nature derived or descended from the Son of Man, and saved by being reunited to him. Nowhere is the Son of Man presented as pre-existent or as owing his redeeming status to a

⁸Bousset-Gressman, Die Religion des Judentums, 3rd edition, (Tübingen: J. B. C. Mohr, 1926), R. Reitzenstein, Die Hellenistischen Mysterien-Religionen, 3rd edition, (Leipzig: B. C. Teubner, 1927), M. J. Lagrange, Le Judaïsme avant Jesus-Christ, (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1931), J. M. Creed, "The Heavenly Man," The Journal of Theological Studies, XXVI, (1925), pp. 113-136, and William Manson, Jesus the Messiah, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1943), pp. 174-190, represent some of the most adequate treatments of the subject.

pre-cosmic event. Nowhere does the Redeemer come before us as one who has been himself redeemed. That is to say, all the distinctive characteristics of the Heavenly Man of the Iranian mystery are absent.

Even those words of Jesus which make use of the formula 'I came' or 'the Son of Man came' constitute no exception of this rule. . . .

This being the general relation of the Synoptic presentation of Jesus to the Iranian doctrine of the Heavenly Man, it becomes us to be very cautious in allocating to that source, directly or indirectly, any even of the special features which characterize the utterances of Jesus regarding the Son of Man.⁹

It seems evident from the above that even though the Son of Man conception may have come to Daniel and to Enoch from an Iranian source, Jesus used it as it appeared in the context of Daniel. Therefore, if any insight into His usage of the title is to be derived, it will in all probability come from an examination of its usage in Daniel.¹⁰ Here the dominant idea seems to be one of dominion, of ultimate triumph.

And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all the peoples, nations, and languages should serve him; his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed. (Dan. 7:14)

It is significant that in nearly half of the sayings in which Jesus uses this title it is in this sense, with a view to a

⁹Ibid., p. 184.

¹⁰George Foot Moore, Judaism, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927), II, 334f., finds little difficulty in believing that messianic significance was attached to Dan. 7:9-14 after it was taken out of context, and cites evidence of this practice in the Midrash and in medieval Jewish Commentators.

future triumph.¹¹

On the other hand, it is worthy of note that Jesus frequently uses the Son of Man title in sayings referring to the passion, giving the title an orientation which is generally believed to have been made from the concept of the Suffering Servant in Isaiah. This is not to state dogmatically that the famous Servant Songs of Deutero-Isaiah suggested to Jesus the necessity of suffering and death for the fulfillment of His messianic role. It remains a moot question as to whether or not these passages (especially Isa. 53) revealed this fact to Him, or it became known to Him through experience from the Father, and only received its confirmation from the Scriptures. However, it is undeniable that many of His sayings concerning His coming death showed a close relationship to the Servant of Isaiah.¹²

The foremost element of the concept of the Servant of the Lord is that of suffering. "He was despised and rejected of men; a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief; and as one from whom men hide their face. . . ." (Isa. 53:3). Yet it is a suffering that is not a consequence of his own sins, but

¹¹T. W. Manson, op. cit., pp. 225f., presents in tabular form the Son of Man sayings referring to the Parousia or the Passion, according to the sources.

¹²Although in Lk. 22:37 (L) we find the only express quotation from Isa. (53:12), there are a number of other instances where Jesus appears to have the servant passage in mind, as in Mk. 9:31; 10:33; 14:21 where he speaks of being delivered up (see Isa. 53:12), of being rejected in Mk. 8:31, (Isa. 53:3), etc.

for the sins of others. "But he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities;. . .we have turned every one to his own way; and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all" (53:5f.). It is a suffering that is vicarious and redemptive by implication, for on him the iniquity of the many is laid and evidently the many need not suffer the consequences of sin. "By the knowledge of himself shall my righteous servant justify many; and he shall bear their iniquities" (53:11). However, he shall ultimately triumph, for "I will divide him a portion with the great, and he shall divide the spoil with the strong. . ." (53:12). "Behold, my servant shall deal wisely, he shall be exalted and lifted up, and shall be very high" (53:13). The exaltation of the Servant of the Lord is assured. Furthermore, the work he accomplishes is not restricted to Israel alone, for, "It is too light a thing that thou should be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob. . . I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou may be my salvation unto the end of the earth" (49:6), and "he will bring forth justice to the Gentiles" (42:1).

Turning now to the title most commonly associated with the hopes of Judaism, the Davidic Messiah, we seek to indicate the elements paramount in it. *Χριστός* (anointed) is the usual translation found in the Septuagint of the Hebrew *מָשִׁיחַ* and its cognate forms,¹³ and this term generally was used in

¹³G. Abbott-Smith, *A Manual Greek Lexicon of the New Testament*, 3rd edition (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1937), p. 484.

connection with the kings of Israel. According to the Old Testament, it was a regular ceremony to anoint the king, and one which signified his choice by God. It was, therefore, customary to refer to the king as $\text{מֶלֶךְ} \quad \text{מְשֻׁחַ}$, the anointed of the Lord, (I Sam. 24:6; 10; 26:9; II Sam. 19:21; etc.). Frequently מֶלֶךְ was omitted due to the custom of not pronouncing the Tetragrammaton and a general reluctance to name "God," so that only מְשֻׁחַ or the Aramaic ܡܫܚܐ was said.¹⁴

The usage of מְשֻׁחַ is not restricted to the kingly office in the history of Israel, but also is applied to the prophetic office, and in connection with the appointment of the priesthood. Concerning the anointment of prophets we note in I Kings 19:16 that Elijah is to anoint Elisha as his successor, and in Isa. 61:1, ". . . the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings. . ."¹⁵ The infrequency of such references probably indicates that such a practice was uncommon. Perhaps it does not represent an actual rite but a manner of speaking which is used to signify the divine commission of the prophetic role.

More frequent and belonging to a later date are the

¹⁴Dalman, op. cit., p. 291. Israel Abrahams, Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1917), First Series, p. 137, agrees with this, but feels that another consideration should be mentioned. He states, "that it was a Hebrew tendency to omit the qualifying noun in titles, whether the qualifying noun was the name of God or not."

¹⁵Luke's representation of Jesus as proclaiming His ministry by reading this passage from Isaiah (Lk. 4:18f.) is worthy of note.

passages which speak of the ritual of anointing to the priesthood. The command to anoint Aaron and his sons to the high priest's office is found in Ex. 28:41 and 29:1-7. Thereafter in Lev. 4:3, 5, 16, etc., the high priest is referred to as $\overline{\text{H}}^{\text{H}}\overline{\text{W}}\overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{H}} \overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{H}}$. Moore has noted in this regard that, as there is no record of anointing the high priest in pre-exilic times, it seems quite probable that the author has taken the idea from the more ancient practice of anointing the king and applied it to the office of high priest at a time when the nation was without a king.¹⁶

It becomes evident, without going any further, that the title $\overline{\text{H}}^{\text{H}}\overline{\text{W}}\overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{H}}$ in its most ancient and prevailing usage carried with it the idea of Divine approval and was seldom separated from the role of king.¹⁷

It now becomes necessary to determine at what point the title became associated with the idea of a coming deliverer of Israel. Dalman states:

If the anointed of the Lord, mentioned in Psalm 2:2, be taken as a personification of Israel, there is then no Old Testament passage in which the coming Prince of Salvation was called in a historical sense 'the anointed.'¹⁸

On the other hand, whether the reference is to a ruler, or to

¹⁶Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, The Beginnings of Christianity, (London: MacMillan Company, 1920), I, 349 in material concerning the meaning of $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$, contributed by G. F. Moore.

¹⁷Another usage of "the anointed" appears in Ps. 105:15 where it refers to the patriarchs.

¹⁸Dalman, op. cit., p. 289.

Israel as a whole, it is to a time when God's anointed shall reign, for

The Lord said unto me, Thou art my son; This day have I begotten thee. Ask of me, and I will give thee the nations for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession. (vs. 7f.)

The Psalm is Messianic as it portrays a world-wide dominion of the Son of David which has never been a historical reality but was the idea of the goal of history.¹⁹ It looks ahead to a time when God's dominion (delegated to His Son) shall be recognized and established. Quite possibly the author of the Psalm referred to the Jewish people as the Lord's anointed, but it is certain that later writers, both Christian and Jewish, understood it to refer to a future king.²⁰

There is a decided lack of reference to the "anointed" in the Jewish literature appearing just prior to the Christian era, although in the Psalms of Solomon (17:21-46)²¹ we find a clear and concise portrayal of the king of the coming golden age, where "Anointed One" or "Messiah" is definitely used to refer to the Davidic King. In the 32nd verse we find an especially vivid picture: *καὶ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς δίκαιος*

¹⁹Charles Augustus Briggs, "Psalms," International Critical Commentary, (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1906), I, 12f., would, for reasons of content, and also on linguistic grounds, date the Psalm in the reign of Josiah, or the time of Jeremiah.

²⁰See Acts 4:25; 13:33; Heb. 1:5; 5:5; Rev. 2:27; 12:5; 19:15; Ps. of Sol. 17:24; II Esdras 7:28f.; 13:25ff.

²¹G. B. Gray, "The Psalms of Solomon," The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, (Charles, editor), II, 625ff., would date the work in the first century B. C.

which thou hast seen shall serve the dominion of His Anointed that he may be potent and mighty on the earth."²³

II Esdras gives evidence of the earliest expressed limitation of the length of the rule of the Messiah.²⁴

For my Son the Messiah shall be revealed, together with those who are with him, and shall rejoice the survivors four hundred years. And it shall be, after these years, that My Son, the Messiah shall die, and all in whom there is human breath (7:28f.).

The Anointed One (the lion of the vision of 11:37-12:3 and its interpretation in 12:3-39) passes judgment on the eagle (the Roman Empire), giving ample proof of the existence, at the time of writing, of the hope for a Messianic deliverer to relieve the foreign oppression and usher in the golden age.²⁵

The Synoptic usage of the title "Son of God" requires an examination of the significance of that title to Judaism. Jackson and Lake suggest that behind the title may lie an early

²³If the theory of Beer (cited by Charles in The Book of Enoch, pp. 64f., that the Similitudes of Enoch comes from two distinct sources, is correct, and Charles' division of the material according to these sources is to be followed, it is interesting to note that both sources use "Anointed" in the Messianic sense, 48:10 being assigned to the "Elect One Source" and 52:4 to the "Son of Man Source."

²⁴G. H. Box, "IV Ezra," The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, (Charles, editor), II, 552f., would date the Sources of this writing about 100 A. D., and the time of its final completion by the Redactor about 120 A. D.

²⁵Generally the messianic age was regarded as eternal. See Ps. 110:4; Isa. 9:6; Enoch 41:1; 49:1; Sib. Oracles 3:49f.; Ps. of Sol. 17:4, etc., for evidence of this. Evidently later Rabbinic thought tended to limit it.

polytheistic religion,²⁶ although later monotheistic Judaism refers to the angels by this title,²⁷ and often uses it to refer to the children of Israel.²⁸ There are instances when it is applied to the king of Israel (or the children of Israel) as in II Sam. 7:14; Ps. 2:7 and 89:26, yet even in these cases it is not likely that any Messianic significance was intended. The usage of the title indicates, rather, the position of special favor with God which the King or the children of Israel held, as "He shall cry unto me, 'Thou art my Father'" (Ps. 89:26). Nor is there any evidence that "Son of God" became a common Messianic title in the later writings of Judaism. Even in the Ps. of Sol. 17:27-30 where "sons of God" appears as a reference to "a holy people, whom he shall lead in righteousness," and in the Book of Sirach 4:10 where we read, "Be as a father to orphans, and in place of husband to widows; then God will call thee 'son,' and will be gracious to thee, and deliver thee from the pit;" attention is not on the Davidic Messiah, but rather on the attribute of righteousness.

Although in the studied opinion of Dalman "it must be recognized as certain that Ps. 2 was not of decisive importance in the Jewish conception of the Messiah, and that "Son of God"

²⁶Jackson and Lake, op. cit., I, 392.

²⁷See Enoch 6:7; and 69:4-5 which elaborate on Gen. 6:4; also Job 1:6; 2:1; 38:7; Ps. 89:6.

²⁸Ex. 4:22, 23; Deut. 14:1; 32:6, 18; Jer. 31:9, 19; Hos. 1:10; 11:1.

was not a common Messianic title,²⁹ at least it was a Messianic potential. The custom of the ancient East of ascribing divine sonship to kings may or may not have come to Israel from the outside. Its presence in Israel's religion is only allowable on the grounds of her belief in the divine appointment of her kings and institutions.³⁰ It is thus incorrect to maintain that were it not for the general influence of the pagan stories of the Graeco-Roman religions, "a Jewish Messiah would never have become a Christian Son of God."³¹

On the other hand there is evidence in the Targums of a tendency to explain away the substantive force of passages which refer to the Messiah as "Son of God."

We select the two outstanding instances of this procedure.

Hebrew
Psalm ii.7. 'Thou art my Son,
this day have I begotten
thee.'

Psalm lxxxix. 27. 'I will
also make him my First-
born, the highest of the
kings of the earth.'

Targum
Psalm ii.7. 'Thou art
dear to me as a son to a
father, innocent as if I
had this day created thee.'

Psalm lxxxix. 27. 'I will
make him to be the first-
born among the kings of
the house of Judah, the
highest over the kings of
the earth.'

²⁹Dalman, op. cit., p. 272.

³⁰Jackson and Lake, op. cit., I, 395. "Since Jehovah was a Father to Israel the true representative of Israel was in a special sense His son. This representative was sometimes identified with the King and hence especially with the expected Messiah."

³¹Joseph Klausner, From Jesus to Paul, (New York: MacMillan Company, 1944), p. 107. Also C. Siemann, Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung des Neuen Testaments, 2nd edition, (Gießen: A Töpelmann, 1924), pp. 77f.

The terms of the paraphrase here indicate a certain ethicizing of the father-son relation in the thought of later Judaism, but even more they signify the reaction of abstract Jewish monotheism against a manner of speech which savoured of mythology in the older prophetic diction, and to this reaction the Jewish polemic against Christianity may have contributed not a little.³²

It has also been noted that in the Talmud, "Son of God" is applied to the Messiah only when the Old Testament passage concerned is understood to be Messianic.³³ It is quite doubtful if "Son of God" was a common Messianic title at any time in the history of Israel.

Certain passages in Isaiah set forth in picturesque language the nature of the great day which will be when the Messiah reigns. Isaiah 9:22ff. contains the proclamation that the Lord's purpose is to establish a kingdom of peace and justice under the throne of one of David's house by breaking the "yoke of his burden and the staff of his shoulder, the rod of his oppressor. . . as in the day of Midian." This new day is announced by the birth of one whose name indicated the nature of the Lord, "Wonderful, Counselor, Mighty God, Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace." Again in the eleventh chapter of Isaiah the birth of one is foretold concerning whom it may be said: "And the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and the fear of the Lord."

³²W. Manson, op. cit., pp. 105f.

³³H. L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament (Munich: C. W. Beck, 1928), III, 20.

He shall judge with righteousness (4), that there shall be a great harmony on the earth as symbolically represented in verses six to nine, and it shall be a time when the Lord will gather together the remnant of his people and there shall be peace between Judah and Ephraim (11-13). It will be just like a new exodus (15-16)!

The frequent reference to Ps. 110 in the New Testament with regard to the Messiah would indicate the probability that it was interpreted Messianically by the Jews at that time.³⁴ Jesus' polemic use of it (Mk. 12:35-37) suggests very strongly that it was thus understood by the Pharisees. Likewise, in the Similitudes of Enoch there is good evidence of a Messianic interpretation of the Psalm, for the Son of Man will sit on the throne of his glory (62:5, 69:27, 29), the Elect One will sit on the throne of his glory (45:3; 55:4; 62:3), and the Elect One will be placed on the throne of glory by the Lord of Spirits (61:8; 62:2). Although this usage is not to be found elsewhere in the Pseudepigrapha, the Midrash gives it a messianic interpretation.

In the time to come God will seat the King-Messiah on his right hand, as it is written, The Lord said to my Lord, Sit on my right hand (Psalm 110:1); and Abraham on his left hand. And the face of Abraham darkened and he said, Shall one of my progeny sit on the right hand and I on the left? But God comforted him, saying, Thy progeny will be on my right hand, and I will be on thy

³⁴Matt. 22:41ff., 26:64; Mk. 12:35ff.; 14:62; 16:19; Lk. 20:41ff.; 22:69; Acts 2:34; 5:31; 7:55; Rom. 8:34; I Cor. 15:25; Heb. 1:3; 8:1; 10:12; I Peter 3:22; Rev. 3:21, etc.

right hand (so to speak), as it is written 'the Lord on thy right hand.' (Psalm 110:5)³⁵

Further evidence for such interpretation is to be found, as in the Midrash Tehillim on Ps. 2:7; and on Ps. 18:36: Bereshith Rabba 85 on Gen. 14:18; 18:1; and 38:18: Yalkut on Ps. 110, etc.³⁶ Later Judaism appears to have regarded the Psalm as referring to Hezekiah³⁷ or to Abraham.³⁸ The fact that later Judaism repudiated this Messianic interpretation is due undoubtedly to the great Christian emphasis on its Messianic significance.

However this may be, the Psalm gives an excellent portrayal of the exalted position of the Messianic King. In brief, there appears the enthronement of the Davidic Messiah as God's representative (vs. 1), his investiture with the rod of strength and power (vs. 2), the willing service of his people (vs. 3), God's promise to inaugurate him into the eternal priesthood after the order of Melchizedek (vs. 4), and his victory over and judgment of the nations and kings that oppose God (vs. 5). It is significant that this Psalm which dwells

³⁵Buber, editor, The Midrash, Tanhuma, Psalm 18, end of 29, p. 79.

³⁶Strack-Billerbeck, op. cit., IV, 453ff.

³⁷Justin Martyr, Dialogue, 33, 83; Tertullian, Treatise Against Marcion, lib. V, copy 9.

³⁸A. E. J. Rawlinson, The Gospel According to St. Mark, 7th edition, (London: Mathuen and Company, 1949), p. 174 cites the Jewish Commentator Rashi for this.

so strongly on the power and the prestige of the Messianic King is referred to more frequently by the New Testament writers than any other passage of the Old Testament.

There can be no doubt that the Messiah was held to be one from the lineage of David in the Pharisaic circles. Jesus' question in Mk. 12:35-37 presupposes this. The background for the belief lies in many Old Testament passages (Isa. 9:6f.; 11:1-9; Jer. 23:5; 30:9; 33:15; II Sam. 7:12; Ezek. 34:23; etc.,) which looked for one from the lineage of David to come. In the Ps. of Sol. 17:23 we read, "Behold, O Lord, and raise up for them their king, a Son of David. . ." G. F. Moore notes that in "the Tannaite literature and thereafter 'the Son of David' is a very common name for what we call the Messiah."³⁹

Now, as the concepts of the Suffering Servant of the Lord, the Son of Man, and the Davidic Messiah are, in general,

³⁹Moore, op. cit., II, 329. Dalman, op. cit., p. 317, notes,

Thereafter 777 72 is frequent in Jewish literature as a title of the Messiah, especially in the phrase 'the son of David comes' (נ 7 777 72). The first representatives of the expression are Gamaliel II. (c. 110 A. D.), b. Sanh. 97a; Yose ben Kisma (c. 120), b. Sanh. 98a; Yokhanan ben Torta (c. 130), j. Taan 68d; . . . Even in the passage in Micah 5:2-6 where the Messiah is portrayed as a shepherd, his Davidic lineage is present, for he is to come from Bethlehem Ephrathah, דָּהֵיָּב דָּבָר דִּבְרֵי מִיָּחֵיָּב (LXX, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξ οὐβόου αὐτοῦ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐξ ἡμερῶν αἰῶνος) implying that he is to come from the oldest source, the Davidic family, rather than that he is pre-existent. J. M. P. Smith, "Micah," The International Critical Commentary (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911), pp. 102ff., and W. D. Davis, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge Press, 1948), p. 160, would agree, although Burney, Journal of Theological Studies, X, 580ff., holds the contrary opinion.

representative of different eras of thought and are in many ways unrelated, it is generally held that the conviction that one person could and did fulfill all of these concepts is contrary to the thinking of Judaism. H. H. Rowley typifies such a view as he notes concerning the Son of Man and the Suffering Servant concepts, "these two hitherto quite separate concepts were fused in him."⁴⁰ The editors of "The Beginnings of Christianity" state: "That the Messiah or the Son of Man should suffer according to the Scriptures is not a Jewish doctrine, and the fact that Jesus did suffer preceded the discovery of suitable prophecies."⁴¹

On the other hand there is strong evidence in the Rabbinic literature that the Son of Man and the Messiah came to be identified.

Thus R. Akiba (see M. Hag. 14.9, b. Sanh. 38b) ascribed one of the thrones in Dan. 7. 9 to the Messiah and Joshua b. Levi applied Dan. 7.13 to the Messiah (see b. Sanh 98a). The human figure in Dan. 7.13 coming with the clouds of heaven was also interpreted of the Messiah, Sib. Oracles, 5.414.⁴²

Likewise the figure of the Son of Man in Daniel, representing the Saints of the Most High, is not devoid of suffering. War is made against them and they are prevailed against (Dan. 7: 21-25), preceding the establishment of the everlasting

⁴⁰H. H. Rowley, The Relevance of Apocalyptic, (London: Lutterworth Press, 1944), p. 115. This is also the opinion set forth in Strack-Billerbeck, op. cit., II, 282ff.

⁴¹Jackson and Lake, op. cit., I, 384.

⁴²Davies, op. cit., p. 280, fn. 1.

kingdom (7:27). There are possible evidences of the influence of the Suffering Servant concept on the picture of the Messianic King in Zech. 9:9f.; 12:9-14; and Ps. 22.⁴³ In the latter instance there is a strong contrast between suffering (vv. 1-21) and exaltation (vv. 22-31).⁴⁴ Indeed there are a number of ideas which are common to all three concepts and at the end of this chapter a few of them will be indicated by way of summation.⁴⁵

Finally, let it be noted that there are times when the Messianic figure is entirely absent from the hopes for deliverance of the Jewish people.⁴⁶ The hope was based ultimately

⁴³Taylor, op. cit., p. 44 suggests this. Strack-Billerbeck, op. cit., II, 273f. states:

Die alte Synagoge kennt einen leidenden Messias, dem aber kein Tod beschieden ist, das ist der Messias ben David, und sie kennt einen sterbenden messias, von dem aber kein Leiden ausgesagt wird, das ist der Messias ben Joseph.

⁴⁴The value of this suggestion is greatly heightened if the saying of Jesus on the Cross, when He quoted the opening verse of the Psalm, is authentic, (Mk. 15:34).

⁴⁵W. Manson, op. cit., pp. 171-4, has a detailed listing of many of the ideas common to the three concepts, and concludes that

the concepts of the Davidic Messiah, the Suffering Servant, and the pre-existent Heavenly Man, however disparate in origin they may have been, have in the religious thought of Israel been conformed to the same type and are to be recognized, therefore, as far as the religion of Israel is concerned, as successive phases of the Messianic idea. . .

⁴⁶Isa. 24-27; Joel 2:18ff.; Eth. Enoch 1-36; the Assumption of Moses, etc.

upon their faith in God; the redemption of Israel is to be the work of the Most High, and if need be He would do it with His own arm.⁴⁷ Furthermore let attention be drawn to the fact that the deliverance for which Israel hoped was more than an outward freeing from the rule of the Romans, although this appears to have been the chief aim of the Zealots.

It was at least equally deliverance from sin, and from all unrighteousness. It was the actualization of the ideal. It was religious salvation. It was bound up with the ideal of the coming theocracy, the manifested Sovereignty of God. It involved the fulfilment of everything that was, or that might be, implied in the new supernatural Age--in the Kingdom of God on the earth, or (as others might prefer to express it) in the new heavens and the new earth, wherein righteousness dwelt.⁴⁸

First and foremost the hope of Israel was for the manifested sovereignty of God.

Even when the figure of the Messiah is present in the picture of the coming deliverance, it is attributed to the work of God, and is associated with a covenant which God makes with His people. This is true of all three of the figures which have been discussed above. Concerning the Servant, we read in Isa. 42:1ff., "Behold, my servant, whom I uphold; my chosen. . .I, the Lord,. . .will give thee for a covenant of the people;" and of the Davidic Messiah, "I will bring forth my Servant the Branch," (Zech. 3:8), "yet I have set my king upon my holy hill of Zion," (Ps. 2:6), "I will set up. . .my

⁴⁷Isa. 63:5.

⁴⁸Rawlinson, op. cit., p. 24.

servant David. . .and I will make with them a covenant of peace," (Ezek. 34:23ff.), and "I have made a covenant with my chosen, I have sworn unto David my servant" (Ps. 89:3); whereas of the Son of Man it is said, "The Lord of Spirits hath chosen him, (Enoch 46:3), and in Dan. 7:13ff. it is understood that his establishment is due to the Most High.

His position is to be one of power and exaltation for "there was given him dominion, and glory and a kingdom, that all peoples, nations and languages should serve him" (Dan. 7:14), "This is the Son of Man. . .whose lot hath the pre-eminence. . . this Son of Man shall raise up the kings and the mighty from their seats. . ." (Enoch 46:3f.), and "All these things. . . shall serve the dominion of His Anointed that he may be potent and mighty upon the earth" (Enoch 52:4). In Ps. 2:7f. the Lord said, "Thou art my Son. . .I will give thee the nations for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession," and in Ps. 89:19ff.,

I have exalted one. . .in my name shall his horn be exalted. . .I also will make him my first-born, the highest of the kings of the earth. . .His seed also will I make to endure forever, and his throne as the days of heaven.

Of the Servant the Lord saith, (Isa. 49:7) "Kings shall see and arise; princes, and they shall worship," and "Behold, my servant shall deal wisely, he shall be exalted and lifted up, and shall be very high. . .kings shall shut their mouths at him. . ." (Isa. 52:13ff.). "A certain common pattern appears

throughout, turning upon the ideas of exaltation and divine gift."⁴⁹

The fulfillment of the Messianic hopes of Israel must be made by one (whether Israel, the nation, the Remnant, or an individual, is irrelevant), laying claim to a divinely delegated sovereignty and authority, and, because the first Christians saw in Jesus such a fulfillment, they made such a claim. The refusal of Judaism to accept the Messianic claim of Jesus is to be attributed to their failure to recognize the Sovereignty which He claimed, as it failed to bring to them the political freedom and the rest that they believed to belong to the picture of the manifested sovereignty of God. This rejection represented a direct breaking away from the line of God's redemptive process at its central and climactic point, at the historic moment of its fulfillment. The true Israel, and as such the Church has ever understood itself, saw in Jesus the Divine fulfillment of the hoped-for deliverance of Israel, and thus proclaimed Him as its Lord.

⁴⁹W. Manson, op. cit., pp. 98f. Other coincidences of experience which Dr. Manson has indicated include the attributes of righteousness and wisdom, and the claim that each shall be a light unto the Gentiles. See pp. 173ff.

CHAPTER II

THE FULFILLMENT OF HOPE

Not only was it the claim of the members of the early Church that in some unique fashion Jesus was the fulfillment of Judaism's Messianic hopes, but so transformed was their concept of Messiahship by this same figure, that within the milieu of strict monotheism they made the unprecedented claim that "Jesus is Lord." It was thus they faced the disbelief of conventional Judaism, and thus we read in one of the early sermons, "Let all the house of Israel therefore know assuredly that God has made Him both Lord and Christ, this Jesus whom you crucified."¹

Certain scholars maintain that the ascription of Lordship to Jesus represents a comparatively late development, taking place outside the Jerusalem Church in the environment of Hellenistic centers where the influence of the mystery religions brought about a transformation of Christology.² The basic position of this dissertation is that this transformation (if we may designate it so), took place in the most

¹Acts 2:36.

²Wilhelm Bousset, Kyrios Christos, 2nd edition (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1921), 362 pp. The book represents one of the most outstanding works maintaining this position.

primitive Christian circle, receiving its impetus from the person of Jesus as He portrayed (by word and act) the type of Messiahship which He knew to be His.³ This chapter has as its purpose the examination of certain of the most primitive elements of the New Testament with a view toward discovering whether or not it is possible to disclose a faith exhibited by the Church concerning the person of Jesus which could have been expressed by a confession signifying to all intents and purposes an ascription less than "Κύριος Ἰησοῦς"

The examination is begun by appealing to the most ancient of the New Testament writings, the epistles of the Apostle Paul.

³Ibid., p. 75. This is far from the position set forth by Bousset. In his own words,
 Ich freue mich an diesem Punkte der Übereinstimmung mit W. Heitmüller in seinem vortrefflichen Aufsatz: Zum Problem Paulus u. Jesu, Ztschr. f. neut. Wissensch. XIII 1912, S. 320-337. -Vgl. die Scharfe Formulierung Heitmüllers S. 330: 'Paulus ist von Jesu nicht nur durch die Urgemeinde getrennt, sondern noch durch ein weiteres Glied. Die Entwicklungsreihe lautet: Jesu - Urgemeinde - hellenistisches Christentum - Paulus.'

According to Bousset the most primitive thought was that Jesus walked the earth as a simple man, although He was raised to the position of Son of Man after His death. The next stage is represented by the Son of Man dogma which he considers to be the core of the Jerusalem Church faith. This Church had no knowledge of the present Lord, but lived in expectation of One who was to return on the clouds of heaven as the Son of Man. The third stage of development took place in the primitive Hellenistic Church, supposedly in Antioch, Tarsus and Damascus. These Christians, who were brought up under the influence of the mystery religions of the day, were familiar with the cult of the kurios, and it was at this point that they transferred the title "Kurios" to Jesus for the first time. In this environment Christ was first made the object of corporate and regular worship. The final stage of the development is represented by Paul, who universalized the Lord of the cult idea into the Lord of all of life.

Their peculiar value lies in the original confessional matter which they contain, and in the fact that, generally speaking, they were written for the Gentile Church. In the beginning the Church was composed of Jews, and, therefore, in so far as possible, Christianity was interpreted to them and by them in terms of their Jewish religious background. However, as the Gospel spread to the outer world, it became necessary to translate it in terms understandable to the Gentiles, and, therefore, it had to be expressed, in part at least, in a different terminology. In other words, it was the task of Paul and the early missionaries to express Christianity from its very basic principles. Furthermore, it is to be remembered that he did not write to non-believers, but to congregations already existent, dealing with problems of theological and ethical nature which had arisen out of the attempts of believers to live the Christian life in pagan surroundings.

This immediately suggests the probability that the writings of the Apostle, addressed to specific situations for particular purposes, do not contain the whole of the Apostolic Gospel, but only those sections relevant to the given situation. In part this is true, but a comparative study of the kerygma of the early Church⁴ alongside the Pauline Epistles demonstrates quite clearly that the primary contents of the

⁴C. H. Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching and Its Developments (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1944). Dodd makes this point quite evident in this book.

kerygma are included in the writings of Paul, as well as in the sermons recorded of him in Acts.

The proximity of Paul's writing and thought to the early tradition is demonstrable from many facts. To begin with, his detailed enumeration of the witnesses of the Resurrected Christ (I Cor. 15:1-8) as well as his comments in I Cor. 9:5f. suggest his familiarity with the early Palestinian Church, its life and its traditions. He feels a unity of belief with the other Church leaders. "Whether it then be I, or they, so we preach, and so you believed." (I Cor. 15:11; Cf. Gal. 2:6-10) The fact that he disagreed with other leaders over matters of practice indicates that he recognized his fundamental unity with them (Gal. 2:11-21). This is doubly substantiated when it is remembered that the disagreements were never about Christology, but always about the Law. His concern for the need of funds in the Jerusalem Church (I Cor. 16:1-4; II Cor. 8:1ff.) exemplified the closeness of his relations with its leaders and members.

Paul explicitly states that he had received "of the Lord" the tradition which he passed on to the Corinthians (I Cor. 11:23; 15:3). Bousset acknowledges this, but feels that Paul had received it from earlier Hellenistic sources.

(I. Ko. 15, 1ff.). Wo aber der Apostel sich so auf die Tradition beruft, da ist es eben nach allem Ausgeführten nicht die Tradition von Jerusalem, sondern zunächst die der heidenschristlichen Gemeinde in Antiochia (erst indirekt die der jerusalemischen Gemeinde). Und wenn Paulus von einem *τῶτος τῆς ἐκκλησίας* der Gemeinde in Rom spricht (Rö. 6, 17), so dürfen wir als den verborgenen Gegensatz

etwa den *τύπος τῆς διδασκῆς* der Gemeiden im Osten ergänzen.⁵

The improbability of this view becomes apparent when we look at the chronology of the activities of Paul. Although exact dating is not determinable, a large majority of opinion among scholars would place his conversion within the first half of the thirties, probably no more than four years after the Crucifixion.⁶ It is not likely that the transition suggested by Bousset, concerning the development of the Son of Man faith to a Lord of the universe faith, did or could have taken place in this short time. Furthermore it is quite certain that Paul was not ignorant of the basic claims of Christianity until his conversion. Would Saul the persecutor have not known the chief facts about the founder of the new sect, Jesus of Nazareth? His fellow Pharisees in Jerusalem certainly had such information. As he was a leader in the controversy with the Christians, it is safe to surmise that he knew well the claims set forth by the disciples in Jerusalem: That Jesus was the Messiah, that he

⁵Bousset, op. cit., p. 76.

⁶John Wick Bowman, "Chronology of the New Testament," (unpublished work, issued to his classes, San Francisco Theological Seminary, San Anselmo California, 1948), p. 3; C. H. Dodd, op. cit., p. 16; F. V. Filson, The New Testament Against Its Environment (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1950), p. 39, fn. 72; Joseph Klausner, From Jesus to Paul (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1944), pp. 317, 331; Lake's article, "The Chronology of Acts," in Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, The Beginnings of Christianity (London: MacMillan and Company, Ltd., 1933), V, 473; Basil Redlich, Form Criticism (London: Duckworth, 1939), p. 65. These books are but a few of the many which maintain that Paul's conversion was no more than six years after the Crucifixion.

had risen from the dead and was to come again. Saul did not blindly attack the new sect, but with great vigor defended the faith of his fathers as he beheld the glaring and, in his judgment, blasphemous claims which even then began to cast doubts into his mind.

He had indeed endeavored to allay the doubts which he felt by violent attempts to extirpate Christianity; but it was already certain that he had failed. As he approached Damascus he passed through the crisis of his spiritual conflict. . . . From the midst of the light he heard a voice reproving him for his attempts to stifle his conscience by destroying the teaching which he knew to be the truth.⁷

Undoubtedly there was much going on in the background of Paul's mind which does not come out in the account. The suggestion is strong that he had been questioning his own position and seeking new light.⁸ The vision on the road to Damascus indicated that his decision on the whole question concerning the person of Jesus was reversed. He became convinced that the Christians were right in their claims and he was completely wrong. In spite of the fact that he claimed he did not receive his Gospel "from man,"⁹ his Christology was determined not only by the tradition which he had received after his conversion, but also by such knowledge as he must have possessed prior to his conversion both as to doctrinal beliefs of the Church and to the facts

⁷W. L. Knox, St. Paul and the Church of Jerusalem (London: Cambridge University Press, 1925), p. 46.

⁸This is the opinion of the psychologist, James Bisset Pratt, The Religious Consciousness (New York: MacMillan Company, 1920), p. 155, fn. 9.

⁹Gal. 1:12.

about Jesus.¹⁰ That he did not journey to Jerusalem until three years after his conversion and then remained only a few days (Gal. 1:17f.), may in part be explained by the fact that he was already familiar with the basic tenets of the Christian faith and did not feel the immediate need to go there. Then, when he did go to visit the Jerusalem Church leaders, it would appear that there was no disagreement, at least none is suggested. Fourteen years later (Gal. 2:1-10) he was in the good graces of the other leaders to such a point that he was able to persuade them to recognize fully the validity of his apostleship to the Gentiles. James and Cephas and John, οἱ δοκῶντες στῦλοι εἶναι, were in such basic agreement with Paul and Barnabas, that they extended to them the right hand of fellowship and agreed concerning the division of the work.

Finally, is it likely that one who was ἐκ γένους Ἰσραὴλ, φυλῆς Βενιαμὴν, Ἑβραῖος ἐξ Ἑβραίων, κατὰ νόμον φαρισαῖος,¹¹ would have sought a radically transformed Hellenized Christianity (if such a thing existed) in preference to Christianity as it was known in the Jerusalem Church? It is much more likely that he would have sought to orient his own religious experience to his Jewish background, feeling, as assuredly did the other Jewish Christians that Christianity

¹⁰A. E. J. Rawlinson, The New Testament Doctrine of the Christ (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1926), pp. 116f.

¹¹Phil. 3:5.

represented the fulfillment of Judaism. Certainly he would have sought to build upon the hopes of Israel, rather than upon the supposed phantasies of a "Hellenistic Church," allegedly influenced by "mystery-religions."

S. Paul's object is to find in the Old Testament types and allegories which will justify his contention that the Christian revelation, interpreted in the light of his own view of its theological implications, is the fulfillment of Judaism. Judaism itself was true so far as it went, but has now been superseded by a fuller knowledge of the truth.¹²

For Paul to become a Christian was not to refute Judaism as a whole, but to recognize that it was εὐαγγέλιον Θεοῦ, ὃ προεπηγγείλατο διὰ τῶν προφητῶν αὐτοῦ ἐν γραφαῖς ἀρχαῖς.¹³

A study of the Epistle to the Romans is especially relevant to this discussion, for, as it is written to a Church which Paul did not found, had never visited, and apparently had never influenced (Rom. 1:13; 15:22f.), its contents must be built about factors common to the founders of Roman Christianity as well as to himself.

We may therefore take it that wherever in that epistle he appeals to the data of the Christian faith, he is referring to that which was common to him and to those preachers of the Gospel to whom the Church at Rome looked as founders and leaders. Those elements therefore...are to be regarded not only as parts of what Paul calls 'my Gospel,' but as part of the common Gospel.¹⁴

¹²Knox, op. cit., pp. 129f.

¹³Rom. 1:1f.

¹⁴Dodd, op. cit., p. 14.

Furthermore, as the content of the writing strongly suggests that the congregation at Rome was largely composed of Jews,¹⁵ it seems more than likely that Paul would have been careful to eliminate any "Paulisms" which might have been at variance with the basic tenets of the Jewish Christian faith and thereby cause a certain estrangement between himself and them.

Thus the general conceptions with which Paul works in this Epistle may be presumed to be such as Christians drawn from a normal Jewish synagogue would regard as tolerable; he would not damage his case by arguments which his readers would reject from the outset, or arguments which they would entirely fail to understand.¹⁶

Now it seems quite certain that the Apostle would have sought to strike a common bond of understanding and belief, particularly in his introductory verses, and this is quite evident, as many commentators have pointed out. Sanday and Headlam have noted how much of the terminology is suggestive of,

¹⁵There are a number of reasons for considering the congregation at Rome to be largely Jewish. In the Epistle to the Romans the Gospel is represented as that which God had promised through the Old Testament prophets (1:2f.); Paul mentions Jew before Greek in 1:16 and 2:9f.; he uses "you" for the Jews and "they" for the Gentiles; in Chapter 4 he indicates that all are heirs of Abraham according to the faith; he notes the advantages of being a Jew in Chapter 3; he would wish himself accursed and cut off from Christ for the Jews' sake (9:3); etc. To be sure he addresses the Gentiles frequently in the writing, but the evidence points toward a strong Jewish body as the dominant element. For further evidence see William Manson, The Epistle to the Hebrews (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1951), pp. 172-184.

¹⁶W. L. Knox, St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles (London: Cambridge University Press, 1929), p. 95.

or actually a repetition of familiar Old Testament phrases.¹⁷ Furthermore, although nowhere else does Paul show an interest in the Davidic descent of Jesus, here it is mentioned, suggesting very strongly that this is a piece of common tradition, perhaps a confession known to Rome.¹⁸

The use of the word ὀρισθέντος (1:4) likewise indicates the primitiveness of the passage. In "The Vocabulary of the Greek New Testament" it is pointed out that in its primary sense ὀρίσω signifies "divide" or "separate from," and

¹⁷William Sanday and Arthur C. Headlam, "Commentary on Romans," International Critical Commentary, 5th edition, (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1902), pp. 1-18. See page 18 for the summary.

When we come to examine particular expressions we find that a large proportion of them are drawn from the O. T. In some cases an idea which has been hitherto fluid is sharply formulated (κλητός, ἁγιασμένος); in other cases an old phrase has been adopted with comparatively little modification (ὕπὲρ τοῦ ὄντος αὐτοῦ and perhaps εἰρήνη); in others the transference involves a larger modification (δοῦλος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, χάρις, κλητοὶ υἱοί, κύριος, θεὸς πατήρ); in others again we have a term which has acquired a significance since the close of the O. T. which Christianity appropriates (ἐπαγγελία, προεπηγγέλατο, γραφαὶ, ἐνστάσις νεκρῶν, ἀγνοί); in yet others we have a new coinage (ἀπόστολος, εὐαγγέλιον), which however in these instances is due, not to St. Paul or the other Apostles, but to Christ Himself.

¹⁸Oscar Cullmann, The Earliest Christian Confessions, translated by J. K. S. Reid, (London: Lutterworth Press, 1949), p. 40, fn. 3; C. H. Dodd, The Parables of the Kingdom (London: Nisbet and Company, Ltd., 1950), p. 54, fn. 1; and The Apostolic Preaching and Its Developments, p. 14; A. M. Hunter, Paul and His Predecessors (London: Nicholson and Watson, Ltd., 1940), pp. 25-30; and The Unity of the New Testament (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1943), p. 22. The authors of these books suggest that this is an ancient formula.

in the passive the meaning is "appointed," "decreed," or "defined."¹⁹ It is not Pauline to refer to Jesus as having been "decreed" or "appointed" or "ordained" Son of God by the Resurrection.²⁰ Rather, it seems likely that this represents a very primitive terminology dating back to the time when the Resurrection was recent and particularly vivid in the minds of the believers, and also when the memory of the man Jesus was still fresh. It would appear to precede a date when the idea of Jesus' pre-existence was common knowledge,²¹ and represents a time when the Resurrection stood out pointedly as the Divine vindication

¹⁹James Hope Moulton and George Milligan, The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1949), p. 457.

²⁰See such passages as II Cor. 8:9 and Col. 1:15ff.

²¹The pre-existence of the Messiah is not clearly taught until II Esdras 12:32; 13:25ff. George Foot Moore, Judaism (Cambridge: University Press, 1927), II, 344, notes that the Tannaim "counted 'the name of the Messiah' among the things that preceded the world, but not the person of the Messiah."

The passages in Enoch which refer to a pre-existent one receive, possibly, their best explanation in the words of Rudolf Otto, The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man, translated by Floyd V. Filson and Bertran Lee-Woolf, 2nd edition, (London: Lutterworth Press, 1943), p. 215, fn. 1.

In En. xlviii. 2, the name of the Son of Man is actually given only in the final age:

In that time this Son of Man was named in the presence of the Lord of Spirits and His name before the Aged One. 'That time' is not the time of the beginning but of the final age of which we now see a prophetic glimpse, and the giving of the name is manifestly the coming into existence, the being born of the Son of Man himself. With that agrees the word of the Aged One in Enoch's ascension scene, from which one must also conclude that only then did the Son of Man come into existence.

The idea of pre-existence is implied, but not explicitly presented.

and approval of the Messianic claim made by Christ. It is not without good reason that John Knox observes, "Reflection upon the resurrection led to the idea of pre-existence, and reflection upon the pre-existence led to the gradual super-naturalizing of Jesus' whole career,"²² although one can hardly support his conclusions. It was at a time when His life was so close that they had in no way glorified the events of which He was the leading figure, for it was not until after the Resurrection and the experience of the "Living Lord" that man began to get the proper perspective.

The Resurrection is the decisive moment in Jesus' Messianic career in this primitive passage: It was then that Jesus was enthroned "Son of God in power."²³ *Ἰσως Χριστός*

²² John Knox, Christ the Lord (Chicago: Willett, Clark and Company, 1945), p. 91. Knox states

Theological interest in Jesus' earthly life began with the death and resurrection and moved backward. The earliest gospel preaching was dominated by these two events-- . . . But Mark. . . although he devotes half his space to the passion and events which immediately led up to it, gives also a summary account of Jesus' earlier career, beginning with his baptism. . . Matthew opens with the miraculous birth; and Luke makes an even earlier beginning, with the miraculous birth of John the Baptist, . . . When. . . the Fourth Gospel begins not with the baptism and birth, but with the eternal Logos, . . . it is not unnatural to decide that belief in the pre-existence of Jesus was the culmination of a process of exalting the earthly career which began with the fact of the resurrection and moved backward step by step till not only the whole of the early life was included but a divine pre-existence was affirmed as well.

²³ Bousset, op. cit., pp. 52-57, considers *υἱὸς Θεοῦ*, as a title applied to Jesus, to be a development of the later Gentile Church. However, as we have indicated in Chapter I, *υἱὸς Θεοῦ* although perhaps not a common Messianic title, was, at least, potentially so. Therefore, there is no reason for not considering this development to have come from the Jerusalem Church.

τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν appears parallel in thought with υἱοῦ
 θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει, suggesting the influence of Ps. 110:1
 in the formation of the language which reads: Εἶπεν ὁ κύριος
 τῷ κυρίῳ μου κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου etc. Here we
 see the significance of the Resurrection, of Jesus' exaltation
 to the right hand of God, to the proclamation of Jesus as Lord—
 a fact which becomes more clear in the discussion of the next
 few pages. The confession makes a distinction between a first
 manifestation of the Son of God after the flesh, and a second
 manifestation after the Spirit of holiness following the
 Resurrection.

Rom. 8:34. "Is it Christ Jesus, who died, yes, who was
 raised from the dead, who is at the right hand of God, who
 indeed intercedes for us?"

Rom. 10:6-9. "But the righteousness based on faith says,
 . . . 'The word is near you, on your lips and in your heart'
 (that is, the word of faith which we preach); because, if
 you confess with your lips that Jesus is Lord and believe
 in your heart that God raised him from the dead, you will
 be saved."

Rom. 14:8-9. "If we live, we live to the Lord, and if
 we die, we die to the Lord; so then, whether we live or
 whether we die, we are the Lord's. For to this end Christ
 died and lived again, that he might be Lord both of the
 dead and of the living."

Here in three passages, at least two of which should be
 assigned to pre-Pauline sources, the proclamation of Jesus as
 Lord is related to the Resurrection. In the first of these the
 intercessory aspect of Christ's work is mentioned, a phase which
 is neglected in the writings of Paul elsewhere, but which is
 primary in the Epistle to the Hebrews, a writing which makes
 much of the 110th Psalm, especially verse 4, suggesting that

quoted here we have a piece of common tradition. "We have once again the sense that a formula is being cited, a formula closely akin to that cited in I Cor. xv. 1 sqq."²⁴ The idea of Lordship is expressed in the familiar phrase, "at the right hand of God."

Rom. 10:8f. contains what Cullmann has called the "simplest expression of the confession of the present Lordship of Christ."²⁵ The particular importance of it is made evident from the setting. Paul acknowledges the zeal of the Jews (v. 2) but they are not enlightened. "For, being ignorant of the righteousness that comes from God, and seeking to establish their own, they did not submit to God's righteousness." And what is God's righteousness? "Christ; he is the end of the law unto righteousness to every one that has faith." And what does the righteousness based on faith say? "The word is near you, on your lips and in your heart" (τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ ῥῆμα τῆς πίστεως ὃ κηρύσσομεν). It is this; make the confession *Κύριος Ἰησοῦς* and believe what you are saying; namely, that God raised Him from the dead, and *σωθήσῃ* ! This is the faith which obtains the righteousness that comes from God; this is salvation! It is τὸ ῥῆμα that we preach. Clearly Paul has brought to the attention of his readers a faith common to them, the very core

²⁴Dodd, *op. cit.*, p. 15. See also Redlich, *op. cit.*, p. 65 and A. M. Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 22, for similar comments.

²⁵Oscar Cullmann, *Christ and Time*, translated by Floyd V. Filson (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1951), p. 153.

of the kerygma, that which is centered in the fact of the Resurrection and expressed in this simple formula. There is no reference to miracles, to teachings, to sayings, just to the one final incident.²⁶

In the passage from the 14th chapter, Paul associates again the "Lordship" which is Jesus' to His "Resurrection." *Εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ Χριστὸς ἀπέθανε καὶ ἔζησεν, ἵνα καὶ νεκρῶν καὶ ζώντων κυριεύσῃ.* As Sanday and Headlam have indicated,²⁷ *ἔζησεν* could not refer to Jesus' life on earth because Paul has carefully reversed the order of *ζῶμεν καὶ ἀποθνήσκωμεν* of the previous verses, because he always connects Christ's Lordship with His Resurrection (II Cor. 4:10, 11), and because the aorist tense could be used of a single definite act and not of a continuous life on earth.

Turning now to the Epistle to the Philippians we discover in the second chapter a hymn which may would relegate to

²⁶Bousset, op. cit., p. 102.

Er scheint aber in seinen Ausführungen bereits ein formuliertes Glaubensbekenntnis der Gemeinde vorauszusetzen: Wenn du mit deinem Munde...wirst du gerettet werden' (Ro. 10, 9f.). Die Formel: Glaube an den Gott, der Christus von den Toten erweckt hat, könnte ihm bereits überliefert sein. -Schon für das Diasporajudentum war der Begriff Glaube (im Sinne des Glaubens an den einen Gott) in das Zentrum des religiösen Lebens eingerückt. Das *πρῶτον πιστεύειν ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς* wurde Erkenntnismerkmal des Judentums in der Zerstreuung. Nun wurde dem als die Besonderheit der christlichen Gemeinde das Bekenntnis zu dem Herrn Christus oder der Glaube an den Gott, der ihn von den Toten erweckt habe, hinzugefügt.

This is, of course, in Bousset's opinion, a development of the heidenchristliche Urgemeinde.

²⁷Sanday and Headlam, op. cit., p. 388.

the pre-Pauline Church in Palestine or, perhaps, in Syria.²⁸ It is quite probably a translation from an Aramaic original, although all do not accept this theory.²⁹ Actually, the reasons for considering it a pre-Pauline work are quite strong. Clark carefully looks to the vocabulary and concludes that "A careful study of the vocabulary shows an affinity to the LXX of 2 Isaiah and Daniel, and to that of the early chapters of Acts."³⁰ Further it may be shown that the 3:3:3 form, although exceptional to the Old Testament, appears to be a favorite of the New Testament Church, as a comparison with Eph. 5:14; I Tim. 3:16 and Lk. 2:29-32 reveals. The theme of the hymn is made by contrasting Jesus with the first man. Adam sought by self-will to gain the

²⁸Phil. 2:5ff. See Ernest Lohmeyer, Kyrios Jesus (Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1928), pp. 46ff.; Cullmann, The Earliest Christian Confessions, p. 22; George S. Duncan, Jesus, Son of Man, (London: Nisbet and Company, 1948); and also W. K. Lowther Clark, New Testament Problems (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge Press, 1929), pp. 143ff. These authors are among the many who treat this passage as a pre-Pauline hymn probably originally in Aramaic. J. Hering, Le Royaume de Dieu et sa venue (Paris: Alcan, 1937), pp. 159ff., offers the opinion that it quite probably came from the Aramaic-speaking Syrian Church.

²⁹W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge Press, 1948), p. 42. Davies does not consider the evidence sufficient to prove the work to be other than Paul's, or one of his disciples.

³⁰Clark, op. cit., pp. 145f., notes $\delta\omicron\delta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ is applied to Christ nowhere else in the New Testament; $\sigma\upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\psi\omega\sigma\epsilon\nu$ and $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\chi\theta\omicron\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma$ are nowhere else in Paul, although the former is frequent in Daniel; $\tau\acute{\omega}$ $\omicron\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\tau\iota$ Ἰησοῦ is not again in Paul but in Acts 4:18, 30; $\gamma\omicron\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ is unPauline as is $\sigma\upsilon\pi\alpha\rho\chi\epsilon\iota\nu$ $\epsilon\nu$, though the former is in Jn. 5:18 and the latter often in Luke-Acts; and he suggests that Dan. 7:13 ($\omega\tau\grave{\iota}$ $\chi\epsilon\iota\tau\iota$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$) is the background for $\omega\varsigma$ $\lambda\upsilon\theta\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$.

knowledge of God, "knowing good and evil."³¹ On the other hand Jesus did not seek equality with God, but took upon Himself the form of a servant, and was "obedient unto death, even death on a cross."

The second Adam, as the climax of His lowliness and of His submission to the will of God, was willing even to die; and for that reason. . . God exalted. . . Him even to the point of bestowing upon Him 'the name that is above every name,' the Divine title of 'Lord.'³²

Ἐξομολογήσεται appears to be a quotation from Isaiah 45:23,³³ where we also read "that unto me every knee shall bow,

³¹Gen. 3:5.

³²Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, p. 135. It is generally held by commentators that the name is "kurios." However in the opinion of W. L. Knox who follows Heitmüller, the "name" is "Jesus." Knox states:

In the first place kurios is not really a name at all unless we take it in its LXX sense as the equivalent of the tetragrammaton. But it seems most unlikely that St. Paul would simply have equated Jesus with the God of the O. T., who remains for him the Father. On the other hand the illogicality of supposing that Jesus received His name at His exaltation, when He had in fact held it all along, would not trouble a hellenistic writer, least of all one who held St. Paul's doctrine of predestination. Grammatically it seems quite impossible to suppose that the name . . . is not Jesus.

"The 'Divine Hero' Christology in the New Testament," The Harvard Theological Review, XLI (October, November, 1948), p. 238, fn. 28. Knox continues to point out that the giving of a new name has many parallels in pagan religion. See also his St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles, pp. 40f., where he points out the belief among the Jews and others of the time concerning the importance attached to names especially the name of God. However, in spite of his arguments, it seems exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to see how "Jesus" can be understood to be the name above every name.

³³Bousset, *op. cit.*, p. 89, believes this to demonstrate how the heavenly cult name of the Old Testament Yahweh, who was over the cult in Jerusalem, is carried over to the new Lord of the cult, by the confession in Isa. 45:23 being referred to Jesus instead of to God.

every tongue shall swear." To Christ is committed everything in heaven and on earth, and under the earth. There is no being and no place in the entire creation over which He is not the Lord. This is what it must mean when it says that God has given to Him the name that is "above every name. . .that is, his own name, Lord=Adonai."³⁴ However the hymn ends on a note that validates it completely from the standpoint of monotheism, *εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ Πατρὸς*. The primary points in Jesus' life, that is, His life, death, and exaltation, are related to the Jewish background of monotheism. The exaltation of Jesus is accomplished by God, to the glory of God, and represents the moment when Jesus became the Divine Lord according to this primitive passage. The Resurrection is the decisive point, for "if Christ has not been raised, your faith is futile and you are still in your sins."³⁵

Another of the pre-Pauline passages frequently taken into account, is the Resurrection narrative given in I Cor. 15:3ff.

For I delivered to you as of the first importance what I received, that Christ died for our sins in accordance with the scriptures, that he was buried, that he was raised on the third day in accordance with the scriptures, and that he appeared to Cephas, then to the twelve. . .

It is not certain how much of this passage was included in that which had been passed on to Paul, but it seems quite certain

³⁴Cullmann, Christ and Time, p. 186. [*Italics in original*]

³⁵I Cor. 15:17.

that at least the part appearing above was. Unquestionably it is the earliest account of the Resurrection, and is especially significant for that reason. No mention is made of the empty tomb, nor of any of the other details which appear in the later accounts. It states only the plain facts of Christ's appearances to the believers. This is the nature of the most primitive belief concerning the Resurrection. The empty tomb can not have carried the weight of the belief of the early Church behind it; only the knowledge of Christ as living is capable of doing so. Paul quite likely received the tradition in detail at Damascus after his conversion experience, although, as we have indicated earlier, many of the facts may have been known to him while he was still a persecutor of the Christians. The narrative reveals clearly this: the Resurrection faith did not rest upon a story, but upon the experience of the community.

The situation in the early church was not that Jesus was believed to be living because he was believed to have arisen; it was rather that he was known to have arisen because he was known as living.³⁶

It is not likely that this account of the Resurrection, which probably dates as early at least as 33 A. D., is to be explained

³⁶John Knox, op. cit., p. 62. W. Bussmann suggests that Paul is referring in verses 3 and 4 to an already written Passion and Resurrection story. See Synoptische Studien (Halle: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1925-31), III, 180-191. However there is no evidence supporting the existence of Christian documents at such an early time, so this must remain for the present, at least, a point of conjecture. See also Vincent Taylor, The Formation of the Gospel Tradition (London: MacMillan Company, 1938), pp. 47-50.

away as the result of a series of developmental stages as Bousset would suggest. It is the experience with a living Lord that lies at the core of the Gospel tradition.

The expression "maranatha" in I Cor. 16:22 provides another weak spot in the argument of Bousset. The fact that ܡܪܢܐ twice appears in the Old Testament (Dan. 2:47; 5:23) with reference to the God of the Jews suggests strongly that "maranatha" cannot be understood as signifying less than "Divine" in this case. Furthermore, Paul's retention of the Aramaic expression suggests that it was indeed a sacrosanct formula. The formula was

certainly understood in its double meaning as a prayer for the coming of the Risen One into his assembled congregation, and at the same time for his coming at the end. . .³⁷

"Teacher, come!" is an impossible rendering in such a context: the phrase means, and can only mean, "Come, Lord!"³⁸

It is generally held that the expression has come from the Palestinian Church. Although Bousset maintains,

Aber es kann doch die Möglichkeit nicht abgewiesen werden, daß die Maranatha-Formel nicht auf dem Boden der palästinensischen Urgemeinde, sondern in dem zurusprachigen Gebeit der hellenistischen Gemeinden von Antiochea, Damascus, selbst Tarsus entstanden sein konnte.³⁹

His comment, however, seems more the result of a desire to support

³⁷Cullmann, op. cit., p. 74.

³⁸Rawlinson, op. cit., p. 235.

³⁹Bousset, op. cit., p. 84.

a particular theory, than a reasonable suggestion. For as Foerster states,

Es ist kein Grund vorhanden, das Wort nicht aus der palästinischen Urgemeinde stammen zu lassen, da alle uns erhaltenen aramäischen Worte in den Evangelien daher stammen und die Beibehaltung des fremden Wortlautes nur Sinn hat, wenn er nicht aus einer aramäisch sprechenden Gemeinde Syriens, sondern aus der Urgemeinde selbst stammt.⁴⁰

Μαρὰν ᾠά by the very language in which it is expressed goes back to the earliest days of Christian hope and experience in the church, when the assurance of Christ's living presence was fresh, and when the hope for His immediate return was foremost in all minds.

It seems quite certain that one of the most impressionable experiences which came to the persecuting Saul was that of the martyrdom of Stephen, and it is to that we next turn. Here was one who claimed that the dead Jesus of Nazareth was now exalted to the right hand of God, and, even in the face of death, prayed "Lord Jesus receive my spirit."⁴¹

Frequent arguments are made for the lateness of the Stephen story, although in the words of W. Manson,

⁴⁰Foerster, "Kurios," Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament (Gerhard Kittel, editor; Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1933), III, 1094.

⁴¹Acts 6:8-8:3. Jackson and Lake, op. cit., IV, 85f., support their thesis, (that "kurios" was applied to Jesus only in the Hellenistic circles at first,) by contending that this is a cry for help and not a prayer to a divinity.

Apparently prior to this time the Christian community had been allowed to worship in the temple and in the synagogue in comparative peace (Acts 2:46; 3:1; 6:9; 9:20; etc.). Perhaps the attitude of Gamaliel (Acts 5:34-39) explains in part the reason for this tolerance on the part of the Jewish authorities.

Features of the record, above all, the sermon of Stephen in chapter vii. with its rugged and angular style and phrasing, and the difficulty of fitting its substance neatly into the adjoining context, point to the derivation of the material from a written document of some kind, and impart to this section of Acts a very great historical value.⁴²

Stephen's primitive manner of speaking when he refers to Jesus as "Son of Man" indicates that the story, or at least its sources, is very early.

The speech of Stephen (7:2-53) is an excellent example of the view the Christians held toward the history of Israel, as it is traced directly to the crucified Christ. Christ's death follows exactly the pattern of the treatment given the prophets and those who preceded Jesus.

You stiff-necked people, uncircumcised in heart and ears, you always resist the Holy Spirit. As your fathers did, so do you. Which of the prophets did not your fathers persecute? And they killed those who announced beforehand the coming of the Righteous One, whom you have now betrayed and murdered, you who received the law as delivered by angels and did not keep it.⁴³

Indeed, all of the history of Israel receives its light from the future, from the coming Messiah. And that Messiah has appeared in the plane of history, but they have rejected Him as they have continually rejected and persecuted those who told

⁴²W. Manson, op. cit., p. 27. Charles Cutler Torrey, "The Composition and Date of Acts," Harvard Theological Studies (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1916), pp. 6ff., would include this in an Aramaic original (1:1b-15:35). Although J. de Zwaan, "The Use of the Greek Language in Acts," op. cit., (Jackson and Lake, editors), II, 44-63, especially p. 48, believes that the case for Chapter 7 of Acts is doubtful.

⁴³Acts 7:51-53.

of His coming. Israel has rejected God throughout history, and has now refused and slain His primary witness, Jesus of

Nazareth. But God has not been defeated, for Ἰδοὺ, θεωρῶ
τοὺς οὐρανοὺς διηνοιγμένους, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου
ἐκ δεξιῶν ἑστῶτα τοῦ θεοῦ !⁴⁴ This is no

Menschensohn dogmatik. It is a picture of Jesus' exaltation to the very right hand of God! No narrow Jewish nationalistic view could contain such a message, for

actually and historically, Stephen grasped and asserted the more-than-Jewish-Messianic sense in which the office and significance of Jesus in religious history were to be understood.⁴⁵

With keen spiritual insight he perceived that the event of which Jesus was the center had universal significance and was not to be held by the narrow nationalistic bonds of the religion of Israel. No wonder violent persecution broke out on that eventful day! Judaism could no longer withstand the pressure of the Christian sect, and, as a consequence, erupted in violent action. It is no variant from the general mood of the story to discover Stephen praying to the "Lord Jesus"--he sees in Jesus of Nazareth one who reigns over all of the universe!

Even though the Aramaic background of the speech of Stephen is not certain, many believe the evidence strong for an

⁴⁴Acts 7:56. Even the Western text variant, "Jesus the Lord, standing at the right hand of God," makes no substantial change in meaning, in view of this position of exaltation.

⁴⁵W. Manson, op. cit., p. 31.

Aramaic original of the material which includes four of the speeches attributed to Peter (Acts 2:14-39; 3:12-26; 4:9-12; 10:34-43).⁴⁶ In the first of these we have what Knox has called "the very beginning of reflection" concerning Jesus, "for it approximates to being a mere discription of what the community actually knew in its experience."⁴⁷ "Let all the house of Israel therefore know assuredly that God has made him both Lord and Christ, this Jesus whom you crucified."⁴⁸ The so-called "adoptionism" of the passage confirms its primitive nature, and the fact that Peter refers to the *δυνάμεις καὶ τέρασι καὶ σημείοις*.⁴⁹ suggests that he is addressing eye-witnesses of the historic Jesus. In this primitive setting, before those who have known Jesus in the flesh, and with those who have witnessed to His Resurrection, Peter finds it insufficient to refer to Him as only Messiah, for he says *καὶ κύριον . . . καὶ Χριστόν*.

In the other three speeches of Peter, he is primarily concerned with the death and Resurrection of Jesus, all accomplished by God. However, in 10:34ff. he makes great mention

⁴⁶J. de Zwaan, op. cit., (Jackson and Lake, editors), II, 44ff. This is also the opinion of E. G. Selwyn, The First Epistle of St. Peter, 2nd edition, (London: MacMillan Company, 1947), p. 33; Dodd, op. cit., p. 20, fn. 1; Hunter, op. cit., p. 23.

⁴⁷John Knox, op. cit., p. 86.

⁴⁸Acts 2:36.

⁴⁹Acts 2:22.

of some of the details of Jesus' life, for he is obviously speaking to persons less familiar with it, for example, Cornelius the centurion.⁵⁰ In every instance the Resurrection of Jesus is seen to have been the act of God. Clearly the claim is that God has in absolutely unique fashion been at work in this man Jesus. Is it so fantastic to believe that the early believers in Palestine sought to give Jesus a title that signified nothing less than Divinity?

There is a notable similarity between I Peter and the speeches of Peter attributed to him in Acts.⁵¹ If the author is Peter (which there are very good reasons for believing), it is interesting to note that he does not dwell to any great length on the life of Jesus, with which he must have been familiar, but largely finds in the death and resurrection of Jesus the basis on which to build. In particular, "Through him you have confidence in God, τὸν ἐχειρὰντα αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ δοῦσαν αὐτῷ δύναμιν so that your faith and hope are in God."⁵² The Gospel message bases itself always on faith and hope in God.

⁵⁰Acts 10:1ff., 45ff.

⁵¹Selwyn, op. cit., pp. 33-36; and Charles Bigg, "St. Peter and St. Jude," International Critical Commentary, 2nd edition, (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1902), pp. 35f., concur with this opinion, although Henry J. Cadbury, "Speeches in Acts," op. cit., (Jackson and Lake, editors), V, 402-427 finds the likeness "scarcely striking."

⁵²I Peter 1:21.

Peter substitutes τὸν Χριστὸν for αὐτὸν in Isaiah 8:13⁵³ and writes κύριον δὲ τὸν Χριστὸν ἁγιάσατε ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν as he prepares for the passage (3:18-22), which Windisch considers an ancient baptismal hymn, possibly sung at the time of baptism.⁵⁴ Baptism is represented as "an appeal to God for a clear conscience, δι' ἀναστάσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ who has gone into heaven ὅς ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Θεοῦ with angels, authorities, and powers subject to him."⁵⁵ The exaltation of Jesus to God's right hand signifies His dominion over ἀγγέλων καὶ ἐξουσιῶν καὶ δυνάμεων. Concerning the Christology of this Epistle, we may state with Selwyn,

The title of 'Lord,' which is normally used in the Old Testament for God, the inclusive relationship which binds Christ to believers so that they live 'in' Him,⁵⁶ the allusions to their suffering and glorifying God 'in Christ's Name,'⁵⁷ and the ascription to Him of eternal power and glory,⁵⁸ recalling His own claim (Matt. xi. 27) that all authority had been given Him in heaven and on

⁵³ κύριον αὐτὸν ἁγιάσατε (LXX). "ἁγιάζω is a word with several shades of meaning in N. T. . . . but here it means 'acknowledge as holy,' as in Is. xxix. 23; Ezek. xx. 41, Ecclus. xxxvi. 4, and in the Lord's Prayer, Matt. vi. 9." Selwyn, op. cit., p. 192.

⁵⁴ Windisch, Die Katholischen Briefe (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1910), pp. 65, 70. Selwyn considers this unlikely for it does not fall easily into verse nor detach properly from 4:1-6. Selwyn, op. cit., p. 195.

⁵⁵ I Peter 3:22.

⁵⁶ I Peter 3:16; 5:10, 14.

⁵⁷ I Peter 4:14, 16.

⁵⁸ I Peter 1:21; 4:11.



earth--these things are inconsistent with any belief which falls short of His divinity. . . .⁵⁹

"Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ! By His great mercy we have been born anew to a living hope *δι' ἀναστάσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκ νεκρῶν.*"⁶⁰ The Resurrection stands out as living hope in God, for the same Jesus is now "at the right hand of God, with angels, authorities and powers subject to him!"⁶¹

It is in the Epistle to the Hebrews that we discover a decided increase in interest concerning the earthly life of Jesus. To the author, Christ was "one who in every respect has been tempted as we are,"⁶² who, "in the days of his flesh. . . offered up prayers and supplications with loud cries and tears to him who was able to save him from death,"⁶³ who "learned obedience through what he suffered,"⁶⁴ who was "descended from Judah,"⁶⁵ and who was crucified outside the gates of Jerusalem.⁶⁶ Yet the manhood of Jesus in no way overshadows His Divinity, as the opening verses of the writing make plain.

⁵⁹Selwyn, op. cit., p. 249.

⁶⁰I Peter 1:3.

⁶¹I Peter 3:22.

⁶²Heb. 4:15.

⁶³Heb. 5:7.

⁶⁴Heb. 5:8.

⁶⁵Heb. 7:14.

⁶⁶Heb. 13:12.

In many and various ways God spoke of old to our fathers by the prophets; but in these last days he has spoken to us by a Son, whom he appointed the heir of all things, through whom also he created the world. He reflects the glory of God and bears the very stamp of his nature, upholding the universe by his word of power. When he had made purification for sins, he sat down at the right hand of the Majesty on high, having become as much superior to angels as the name he has obtained is more excellent than theirs.⁶⁷

Not only is He superior to the angels, but "Jesus has been counted worthy of as much more glory than Moses as a builder of a house has more honor than the house."⁶⁸ Moses, a figure unique in Jewish tradition to the establishment of the covenant between God and His people, is inferior to Christ. His is an eternal exaltation at the right hand of God.⁶⁹ Although the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews refers to the Resurrection only once,⁷⁰ and seldom uses "kurios" with reference to Jesus,⁷¹ "Christianity as known to the writer is the confession of Jesus Christ as our High Priest, and this for Him is as momentous as the confession 'Jesus is Lord' is for St. Paul."⁷² His interest is with the Priest after the order of Melchizedek and with Christ's continued activity at the right hand of God making intercession for man. Christ's presence with the Father is the

⁶⁷Heb. 1:1-4.

⁶⁸Heb. 1:3.

⁶⁹Heb. 1:10-14.

⁷⁰Heb. 13:20.

⁷¹Heb. 2:3; 7:14; 13:20.

⁷²W. Manson, op. cit., p. 54.

emphasis rather than His Resurrection.⁷³

Nevertheless, Christ as Lord, lies in the background of the author's thinking. Not only does Jesus as God's Son share His throne,⁷⁴ but the angels are to worship Him,⁷⁵ and, although man was unable to realize his mastery over all things in the world, in Jesus this position of supremacy is accomplished.⁷⁶ Furthermore, Christ is Lord of the coming order, "for it was not to angels that God subjected the world to come."⁷⁷

Turning now to the Synoptics, we examine material which goes into much greater detail concerning the earthly life of Jesus. Not only do they represent writings later than the first of the Pauline Epistles, but they are to be regarded quite certainly as common tradition, rather than as only the views of a few individuals. It is at once evident that the belief that "Jesus is Lord" should be an integral part of these works. Particularly should this be true of the Gospel according to Mark, which was probably written about 65 A. D.,⁷⁸ and

⁷³Heb. 1:3; 8:1; 10:12; 12:2.

⁷⁴Heb. 1:8.

⁷⁵Heb. 1:6.

⁷⁶Heb. 2:6-9.

⁷⁷Heb. 2:5.

⁷⁸T. W. Manson, A Companion to the Bible (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1939), p. 115. The most probable date for its composition is about A. D. 65; for we may follow Irenaeus in placing it after the deaths of Peter and Paul, and there is nothing in the Gospel itself to suggest that it was written after the fall of Jerusalem (A. D. 70).

represents the Gentile-Christian point of view. For even though certain sources of Mark's material may date back to a much earlier time, the final writing was done at a time later than that period when, according to Bousset, the belief concerning the person of Christ was so radically transformed through the influence of the Hellenistic circles. Clearly such thinking would be apparent in the work of the editor, especially if he was John Mark, companion and assistant of Paul.

This is, however, not the case, or at least not obviously so. There is a decided absence of the title with reference to Jesus in Mark. Once only is he addressed as *κύριε*,⁷⁹ and that time by a Gentile, quite possibly meaning nothing more than "Sir." Mark quotes Isa. 40:3 in verse 1:3 with reference to Jesus,⁸⁰ but nowhere else outside of the mouth of Jesus does the title appear.⁸¹ It is quite possible that the saying attributed to Jesus (2:28), "the Son of Man is lord even of the Sabbath," represents the voice of the Church, rather than that of Jesus.⁸²

⁷⁹Mk. 7:28. Burnett Hillman Streeter, The Four Gospels (London: MacMillan Company, 1924), p. 309, notes the possibility that it should appear in 1:40 in the mouth of the leper as Matthew and Luke have it.

⁸⁰Mk. 1:3. "Prepare the way of the Lord, make his paths straight. . .".

⁸¹Mk. 16:19 and 20 are, of course, quite certainly not exceptions but part of a later supplement to the Gospel.

⁸²W. Manson, Jesus the Messiah (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1943), p. 116; also A. E. J. Rawlinson, The Gospel According to St. Mark, 7th edition, (London: Methuen and Company, 1949), pp. 33f.

His command to the Gerasene demoniac to "Go home to your friends and tell them how much the Lord has done for you" seems a certain reference to God. In 11:3, where He sends the disciples for the colt and tells them to inform any who question their action that the "Lord has need of it," there is every possibility that this was understood by Mark and the Christian community as a significant title of Divinity ascribed to Jesus, but in its original setting the meaning need not be more than "Master."⁸³ It is Jesus' quotation of Ps. 110:1 in Mk. 12:36 which may not be assigned to the theology of the later Church so readily.⁸⁴ Mark in all probability understood it as adequate justification for the use of the title with regard to Jesus. The prominence of this Psalm in the other New Testament writings may be explained as due to the fact that Jesus Himself understood it in a Messianic sense. Actually there is no reason for supposing that Judaism in general did not so understand it at that time, as has been noted in the previous chapter. In the next chapter it is dealt with in greater detail. Suffice to say at this point

⁸³Ibid., p. 152.

⁸⁴Bousset, op. cit., p. 43, and Loisy, Les Evangiles Synoptiques (Haute Marne: Geffonds, 1907-08), I, 98, would, of course, maintain this passage also to be a product of the Church. Martin Dibelius, From Tradition to Gospel, translated by Bertrum Lee-Woolf, (London: Iver Nicholson and Watson, 1934), p. 261, considers it "only a saying introduced into the text which was handed down as an example of Jesus' critique of scribal learning." It does not in his judgment represent a Christological theory.

that the verse is not quoted as a denial of Davidic descent.⁸⁵ It is rather to be understood as Jesus' repudiation of a political interpretation of the Messianic role. Indeed, possibly here we have the basis for the ascription of Lordship to Jesus. In the words of Rawlinson, as he treats this passage:

For to a Hebrew the king, as the 'Anointed' of Jahve, was already a religious personage, invested with the prerogatives of sacrosanct majesty; and the expected 'Messiah' was no ordinary king—he was the mediator of Israel's redemption, the supreme Agent, according to not a few forms of Messianic expectation, of the 'Restoration' of all things. The argument of Mk. 12:35 sqq. is that the Messiah had been called 'lord' by King David himself: He is a fortiori the 'Lord' divinely appointed, of the whole redeemed people of God. We have here, surely, an obvious basis for the description of the exalted Messiah as Maran (i.e., 'our Lord') by all those who accepted His sovereignty, and it is probable, in effect, that it was precisely this Scriptural argument which gave rise to the title, the more usual Aramaic Maran being employed as a natural equivalent for the Hebrew Psalmist's Adoni.⁸⁶

Nevertheless, the scarcity of the title "kurios" in Mark with regard to Jesus does not of necessity indicate that such an ascription was unknown, for the same general situation is true regarding the title Χριστός. After 1:1 it does not appear again until the confession of Peter.⁸⁷ The absence of

⁸⁵ Even Paul, as we have noted earlier, makes mention of Jesus' Davidic lineage in what appears to be an early formula which he quotes (Rom. 1:1-4), taking it for granted; and he should have known, for he knew James, the brother of the Lord (Gal. 1:19).

⁸⁶ Rawlinson, The New Testament Doctrine of the Christ, p. 236. [underlined words are in italics in original]

⁸⁷ Mk. 8:29. It is impossible to be reconciled to the position of Dibelius, op. cit., p. 115, that "the best-known Peter passages, his confession of the Messiah and his denial, cannot be regarded forthwith as Legends of Peter," and "the prophecy of suffering introduced by Mk. 8:31 has obviously covered over the old conclusion of the passage."

it in the Matthew rendering of 9:41,⁸⁸ and the fact that nowhere else is the word "Christ" used in the Synoptics or Acts as a proper name without the article, suggests that its presence here is due to the hand of a later editor, that Matt. 10:42 represents the original.⁸⁹ Apparently *Χριστός* was not restricted to the traditional Jewish picture of the Messiah by Mark, for immediately after Peter's confession, the qualification is made by Jesus that "the Son of Man must suffer many things, . . . be killed, . . . and rise again." Again, after the high priest's question *Σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστῆς*; Jesus answers "I am, and you will see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of Power. . . ." suggesting that Mark could associate great suffering and death, as well as glorious victory with this title.⁹⁰

Actually it is the title "Son of God" which Mark prefers. Even though it was not a common Messianic title in Judaism, Mark presents Jesus as the Son of God from the time of His baptism.⁹¹ The unclean spirits recognize Him as the Son of God,⁹² and thus He is proclaimed by the heavenly voice

⁸⁸Matt. 10:42.

⁸⁹C. G. Montefiore, The Synoptic Gospels (London: MacMillan Company, 1909), I, 228-231. This section reviews the question quite carefully, and correctly, in my judgment.

⁹⁰It also appears in 12:35 and 13:21.

⁹¹Mk. 1:11.

⁹²Mk. 3:1; 5:7.

at the Transfiguration.⁹³ In 12:1-9 (the Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen), Sonship is associated with humiliation and death; in 13:32 the Son occupies a position taking precedence over the angels in heaven, and second only to the Father, and the centurion uses it at the crucifixion.⁹⁴ For Mark the content of this title has not been furnished by Judaism, but rather by the Christ himself as He lived, died, and rose again.

"Son of Man" appears only on the lips of Jesus in Mark.⁹⁵ Even though we eliminate 2:10 and 28 as probably representing the teaching of the Church,⁹⁶ this title too is given wide associations. The verses 8:31; 9:12; 10:45; 14:21 (twice), 41 make the association with rejection, suffering, and death; 9:31; 10:33 add the resurrection to death; 9:9 mentions the resurrection only; whereas 8:38; 13:26; 14:62 are concerned with the Parousia.⁹⁷

⁹³Mk. 9:7.

⁹⁴Mk. 15:39.

⁹⁵This is found 14 times in Mark.

⁹⁶John Wick Bowman, The Intention of Jesus (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1943), p. 236; Bultmann, Die Geschichte der Synoptischen Tradition, 2nd edition; (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1931), pp. 12f.; T. W. Manson, The Teaching of Jesus, 2nd edition, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1935) p. 214; W. Manson, op. cit., p. 116, are among the many who would suggest this.

⁹⁷The Form Critics would greatly decrease the number of these references. Dibelius, op. cit., pp. 225-227, considers 8:31; 9:12; 9:31; 10:33 as later additions. Bultmann, op. cit., pp. 282ff., treats 14:41 and 62 as late additions. In his Jesus and the Word, translated by Louise Pettibone Smith and Erminie Huntress (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934), pp. 213-217, he states that 10:45 and 14:62 are from Hellenistic Christianity, although 8:38, he believes, is a part of the early

It becomes at once evident that for Mark these titles are not technically exact nor necessarily true to the Jewish tradition behind them, for they have received radical transformation by the Person to whom they refer.

In view of the above discussion it would seem that the most probable explanation for the scarcity of the title *Κύριος* in Mark with regard to Jesus is to be made by reference to the preference in this Gospel for the title "Son of God." On the other hand the Lordship of Jesus is implicit to the earliest Synoptic Gospel. It is clear that He ushered in the age when "the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped. . ."⁹⁸ for He is the one able to heal the sick, make the blind see, make the lame walk, cast out demons, etc.⁹⁹ Jesus had control over nature (4:39); foreknowledge of the future (13:5-31; 14:27; 14:30), and was able to bring the dead to life (5:41f.). In Christ dwelled the power of the living God, capable of overthrowing all forms of evil.

'Jesus is the Christ the Son of God' is the thesis which John Mark sets himself to elaborate. . . He is filling out--by means of illustrative stories--the kerygma, the kerygma which told of One in whom 'God's redemptive Rule' was decisively manifested, and who is now in 'the highest place that heaven affords--at the right hand of God.'¹⁰⁰

tradition. Taylor's; op. cit., p. 58, related comment seems particularly fitting. "It is fair to say that the confidence with which Bultmann tells how the Markan Story came into being could be justified only by the gift of omniscience."

⁹⁸Isa. 35:5f.

⁹⁹Mk. 1:31, 34, 41; 2:11; 3:5; 5:29; 5:41, etc.

¹⁰⁰Hunter, op. cit., p. 40.

In passages common to Matthew and Luke (Q) there is no evidence that "kurios" was applied to Jesus with the full significance it carried in the Pauline epistles.¹⁰¹ Likewise "christos" is missing from this collection of sayings of Jesus. "Son of God" appears in the record of the temptations of Jesus.¹⁰² The famous Father-Son passage vividly portrays the unique position which Jesus held to the Father, and must have been understood by the early Church as representative of the unique knowledge of God which was to be had through the person of Jesus.¹⁰³ "Son of Man" is restricted to the lips of Jesus, and is associated with the motif of humiliation as well as with the motif of exaltation.¹⁰⁴ The absence of miracles is not

¹⁰¹ "Q" is generally held to be a collection of the sayings of Jesus, possibly written in Aramaic, dating from the year 50 A. D., or earlier, compiled at Antioch, although concerning the date and place of origin of Q we can do no more than make more or less probable conjectures.

T. W. Manson in H. D. A. Major, T. W. Manson, C. J. Wright, The Mission and Message of Jesus (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1938), p. 312; W. Manson, "The Gospel of Luke," The Moffatt New Testament Commentary (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1930), p. xvii; and Streeter, op. cit., p. 150, are in general agreement.

Neither in the mouth of the Gentile centurion (Lk. 7:3; Matt. 8:8f.) nor in Lk. 6:46 (Matt. 7:21) "Why do you call me Lord and do not what I tell you?" can anything more than "Master" or "Sir" have been intended originally.

¹⁰² Lk. 4:3, 9; Matt. 4:3, 6.

¹⁰³ Lk. 10:22; Matt. 11:27. See the next chapter for a more detailed treatment of this passage.

¹⁰⁴ John Wick Bowman, The Religion of Maturity (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1948), pp. 256f. follows H. H. Rowley, The Relevance of Apocalyptic (London: Lutterworth Press, 1944), p. 115, in noting with regard to all the Gospel sources the impression that, in general, Jesus is making an individual

striking in view of the material of which Q is composed.¹⁰⁵

On the other hand certain passages indicate that Jesus was a worker of miracles. In Lk. 7:22 (Matt. 11:4f.) Jesus tells the disciples of John the Baptist, "Go and tell John what you have seen and heard; the blind receive their sight, the lame walk. . ." and in Lk. 10:13 (Matt. 11:20f.) He pronounces judgment, "Woe to you, Chorazin! woe to you, Bethsaida! For if the mighty works done in you had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago. . ." According to Q, these works point to Jesus as the Messiah, to the coming of the long-awaited Messianic age of Isaiah 35. There is no clearly defined Christology standing out in the material of Q, yet the recognition of His mighty works, the unmistakable authoritativeness of the teachings, and the centrality of Jesus' figure in them, and, particularly, the Father-Son passage as it reveals that all men are debtors to Christ for only through Him is the Father known, point to a figure that can hardly be understood as less than the Divine Lord of the Christian community.

reference in the humiliation passages and a corporate reference in the exultation passages. This does not bear, however, on our argument. See also T. W. Manson, Teaching of Jesus, pp. 215-220, and Jackson and Lake, op. cit., I, 375f.

¹⁰⁵The healing of the Centurion's servant in Lk. 7:1-10 (Matt. 8:5-13) is apparently no breaking of this rule, particularly if Q contained no narrative. For in that case only the dialogue between Jesus and the Centurion would be included in Q. See, for example, Dibelius, op. cit., pp. 244f. However, Alan Richardson, The Miracle-Stories of the Gospels (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1941), p. 100, considers it the only miracle story in Q.

In the Gospel according to Matthew there is revealed a definite preference for the use of the title "kurie" in personal address to Jesus. It is often in the material peculiar to Matthew,¹⁰⁶ and is used by Matthew in material from the Marcan source where Mark and Luke have no title, or use the terms *rabbi*, *epistata*, *didaskalos*, *Jesus* or *rabboni*.¹⁰⁷ From this evidence Bousset concluded that he need be only concerned with *ὁ κύριος*, believing that the vocative could be used with reference to a master, or to any one to whom one wished to show respect or to pay honor.¹⁰⁸

It is indeed striking that in this Gospel *ὁ κύριος* is never used in the place of the simple name "Jesus" in the narrative. However, Matthew is concerned to show that He was born of a virgin,¹⁰⁹ and frequently relates certain facts concerning the life and activities of Jesus which are to be seen as

¹⁰⁶Matt. 9:28; 14:28; 14:30; 15:22, 25; 18:21.

¹⁰⁷Matt. 8:25; 17:4, 15; 20:30, 31, 33; 26:22.

¹⁰⁸Bousset, *op. cit.*, pp. 77ff. Perhaps during the life of Jesus this is correct. However, after the Resurrection, 'our Lord' as applied to Jesus, was not widely separated from the same designation for God. But it must be here remembered that the Aramaic-speaking Jews did not, save exceptionally, designate God as 'Lord'; so that in the 'Hebraist' section of the Jewish Christians the expression 'our Lord' was used in reference to Jesus only, and would be quite free from ambiguity.

Gustaf Dalman, *The Words of Jesus*, translated by D. M. Kay (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1902), p. 329.

¹⁰⁹Matt. 1:18ff.

fulfillments of Old Testament prophecy.¹¹⁰ In addition he places special emphasis on the "Sonship" of Jesus, frequently representing Jesus as referring to God as "Father," and many times as "my Father."¹¹¹ His Christology is of such a stature that he names Jesus *Ἐμμανουήλ*, and, in the final verses of the book, he records of Jesus, "All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me. . . Lo I am with you always, to the close of the age."¹¹² To Matthew, Jesus is assuredly the living Lord of the Church, despite the absence of the title "Kurios" with reference to Him.

Luke alone of the Synoptists uses the title *ὁ κύριος* with reference to Jesus during His life on earth. Streeter has pointed out that it is never found in the material which Luke has clearly derived from Mark, although it appears fourteen or fifteen times in Luke.¹¹³ Likewise "kurie" is found sixteen

¹¹⁰Matt. 2:23; 4:13-16; 12:17; 13:14; etc.

¹¹¹Jackson and Lake, *op. cit.*, I, 402, find forty-five instances in which Matthew has Jesus refer to God as "Father;" and sixteen to eighteen times when the reading is "my Father."

¹¹²Matt. 28:18, 20. Even though these are not genuine words of Jesus, they well represent His significance to Matthew.

¹¹³Streeter, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

Seven occurrences are in material clearly from L(vii.13;x.39, 41;xiii.15;xviii.6;xix.8;xxii.31); 4 are connected with material certainly from Q(vii.19;x.1;xi.39;xii.42); 2(xvii.5,6) are connected with a saying which may be either L or Q. The remaining 2 occur in one verse (xxii.61). . . .The first half of the verse is peculiar to Luke, the second half may be from Mark. . . .It is the one exception to the rule. . . .but it is one readily explained by assimilation of the 'Jesus' that stood in Mark to 'the Lord.'

22:31 is omitted in Cod. Vaticanus, Cod. Regius Parisiensis, saec. viii, and Cod. Borgianus, saec.v.

times in Luke, only two of which are in material from Mark.¹¹⁴ Streeter then uses this evidence for his theory that the Q and L material had been combined before they were used by the editor of the Third Gospel, assuming, of course, that the title is due to the hand that combined the two. At any rate, Luke regarding ed Jesus as Divine from the first, for in his narrative the angel said to Mary, "The Holy Spirit will come upon you, and the power of the Most High will overshadow you; therefore the child to be born will be holy, the Son of God."¹¹⁵

The point of the miracle of the raising of the young man at Nain¹¹⁶ appears to be to justify the comment which follows,¹¹⁷ that "the dead are raised up." The title "kurios" which Luke has used in verse 13

has peculiar fitness in this context, where Jesus appears clothed with the exalted power over life and death by which he becomes the object of his Church's faith and worship (Philippians 2:10).¹¹⁸

The healing of the crippled woman illustrates Jesus' power over Satan.¹¹⁹ A study of the other two miracle stories¹²⁰ appearing

¹¹⁴Streeter, op. cit., pp. 213f.

¹¹⁵Lk. 1:34f. This is considered by Taylor to have "been superimposed on the original material by Luke himself." Taylor, op. cit., pp. 161f.

¹¹⁶Lk. 7:11-17.

¹¹⁷Lk. 7:22.

¹¹⁸W. Manson, "The Gospel of Luke," Moffatt Commentary, p. 77.

¹¹⁹Lk. 13:10-17.

¹²⁰Lk. 14:1-6; 17:11-19.

in this material leads one to the conclusion of Richardson, who states:

It is hard to escape the conclusion, especially if we have regard to some of the miracle-stories of Acts, that St. Luke did not hesitate to construct such stories, in harmony alike with the main purpose and general content of the Church's tradition, in order to better illustrate the significance of the work of Jesus or the preaching of the Apostle by means of teaching conveyed in story form.¹²¹

At any rate, to Luke, the fact remains that Jesus had power over Satan and death. Furthermore he knows the Risen Lord to be the fulfillment of the law, the prophets, and the psalms, the mediator of forgiveness of sins, and the one who sends God's Spirit.¹²²

Throughout the strata of the Synoptic tradition we have seen that Jesus was regarded as the very power of God, having dominion over the Satanic forces, the powers of nature, and even death. He is considered to be the fulfillment of all previous revelation, He is the Son of God, He is Emmanuel! He is the Lord of the Church, not a messiah brought into existence as a result of Paulinism impinging "upon the pure and original memory of a humanitarian figure, who lived and died for the sake of a message which amounted to little more than a doctrine of theism plus brotherly love."¹²³

Even in the Fourth Gospel, in the environment of the

¹²¹Richardson, op. cit., p. 111.

¹²²Lk. 24:44-49.

¹²³James Moffatt, The Theology of the Gospels (London: Duckworth, 1912), p. 174.

most thoroughgoing attempt at a reinterpretation of Christianity in terms of Hellenistic thought,¹²⁴ "Lord" is not a favorite title for Christ. Bousset, noting this, draws the conclusion that John no longer thinks of the followers of Jesus as "servants" or "slaves," but rather as "friends."¹²⁵ Therefore it is his opinion that the Johannine circle did not naturally address Jesus as "Lord."

Perhaps in certain places, as 13:12, "You call me Teacher and Lord," "kurios" is nothing more than a title of respect, for Jewish teachers were so addressed by their disciples.¹²⁶ Nevertheless, in general, the Johannine usage of "kurios" with respect to Jesus is quite possibly historically correct. As Bernard has noted,¹²⁷ in the early part of John the disciples address Jesus as "Rabbi," although others, as the woman of Samaria (4:11), the noble man of Capernaum (4:49), and the blind man (9:36), refer to Him as "kurie." The five thousand address Jesus as "rabbi" (6:25), but after He has revealed to them the true bread from heaven, they call Him "kurie." It is not until the Johannine version of Peter's great confession

¹²⁴Dodd, "The History and Doctrine of the Apostolic Age," A Companion to the Bible (T. W. Manson, editor), p. 411.

¹²⁵Bousset, op. cit., p. 155. He notes especially John 15:14f., "You are my friends if you do what I command you. No longer do I call you servants. . .but I have called you friends."

¹²⁶H. L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1928), II, 558.

¹²⁷J. H. Bernard, "St. John," International Critical Commentary (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1928), I, 54f.

(6:68f.), that a disciple addressed Jesus as "kurie," "the Holy One of God." Again He is addressed by the disciples in 9:2 and 11:8 as "rabbi," but ever afterward they address Him as "kurie." In direct narrative, with few exceptions, "Jesus" is used rather than "kurios" until the Resurrection. These exceptions are 4:1; 6:23; 11:2; and may well be later glosses.¹²⁸ After the Resurrection *ὁ κύριος* is frequently used.¹²⁹ Perhaps we have here an indication of some of the primitive characteristics which are to be found in the Fourth Gospel. John seems to represent well the understanding of the disciples with regard to Jesus; for before His Resurrection, the man, Jesus of Nazareth, was foremost in their thought, but afterward there was a complete transformation of their thinking with regard to His person, for clearly He was Divine, the Lord of the Church.

The exclamation of Thomas, "My Lord and my God,"¹³⁰ bears out this fact. Previously Jesus has been addressed as "kurie" by Thomas, in keeping with the custom of the day; but now the content of this title has received a complete

¹²⁸ *ὁ Ἰησοῦς* appears instead of *ὁ κύριος* (4:1) in the Codices Sinaiticus, Bezae, Koridethi, in a group of Greek minuscules (fam. 1), in six manuscripts of the Old Latin, and in the Curetonian as well as other Syriac versions, representing the original reading. Bernard considers both 6:23 and 11:2 as later glosses.

¹²⁹ In Jn. 20:2, 14, 18, 20, 25, 28, and at least eight times in chapter 21, which of course may not be a part of the original work, "*ὁ κύριος*" appears.

¹³⁰ Jn. 20:28. This exclamation brings to mind the ringing "Lord of Lords and King of Kings" of Rev. 17:14; 19:16.

transformation when referred to the Risen Jesus. Now He has been revealed in all of His Divine glory!¹³¹ The prologue is concerned with the "Word became flesh," and, here, to Thomas, the full significance of this fact is revealed, for the Resurrection represents the complete unveiling of this truth. "He who has seen me has seen the Father."¹³² The miracles of John are signs of God's power in Jesus, but it is only by the Resurrection that this Divine Power is revealed completely to the eyes of men.¹³³

The Fourth Gospel throughout recognizes the unique relationship between God and Jesus, and the significance of Jesus' person to knowledge of God. "No one has ever seen God; the

¹³¹Adolf Deissmann, Light from the Ancient East, translated by Lionel R. M. Strachan, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1910), pp. 366f. Deissmann suggests that Ps. 85:15 and 87:2 (LXX) lie behind this verse.

¹³²Jn. 14:9.

¹³³In John, Jesus is a Divine Being who has become a man, the Word become flesh, and what He says and does are the activities of a man, but they are also signs of eternal realities, of the works and deeds of God. This is made particularly clear from a study of the miracle-stories in the Gospel, for whereas in the other Gospels the miracles are spontaneous acts of love and power, and implicitly reveal that Christ is the power of God, here they are considered explicit proof. The changing of water into wine (2:1ff.) prepares the way for the verse, "This, the first of his signs, Jesus did at Cana in Galilee, and manifested his glory; . . ." The healing of the official's son (4:46ff.) points directly to the power which comes from faith in Christ; the feeding of the five thousand reveals Jesus as the bread of the eternal and spiritual life; the blind man's restored sight (9:1ff.) portrays the light given to men by the Word; and Lazarus' restoration to life (11:1ff.) suggests that man through Jesus' Resurrection passes from death to life.

only Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, he has made him known."¹³⁴ It is Jesus who states, "I and the Father are one,"¹³⁵ and He is of such importance that "whoever believes in him should not perish but have eternal life."¹³⁶ Jesus is of absolute significance to man, for He says, "I am the resurrection and the life,"¹³⁷ and "I am the way, and the truth, and the life; no one comes to the Father, but by me."¹³⁸ Christ is indeed the Lord of mankind! He is the supreme revelation of God, the Word become flesh, and through Him men find victory, for although "In the world you have tribulation, be of good cheer, I have overcome the world."¹³⁹ He is truly man, yet He is Divine, and a worthy object of worship, for Christian faith is faith in His name,¹⁴⁰ and all men should honor Him even as they honor the Father.¹⁴¹

Only the most representative and the earliest books of the New Testament have been examined. In this perusal we have noticed a decided difference in terminology in the book, but a basic unity of belief concerning the person of Christ. He is

¹³⁴Jn. 1:18.

¹³⁵Jn. 10:30.

¹³⁶Jn. 3:16.

¹³⁷Jn. 11:25.

¹³⁸Jn. 14:6.

¹³⁹Jn. 16:33.

¹⁴⁰Jn. 1:12.

¹⁴¹Jn. 5:23.

at every point considered an object of faith, for He is of absolute religious significance to mankind. It is by virtue of His unique relation to the Father that He is able to redeem men, and so the earliest Christian community believed. We have discovered that there--

is a unity in all these early Christian books which is powerful enough to absorb and subdue their differences, and that unity is to be found in a common religious relation to Christ, a common debt to Him, a common sense that everything in the relations of God and man must be and is determined by Him.¹⁴²

The declarations 'Christ reigns,' 'the powers are subject to him,' 'he sits at the right hand of God,' are only different ways of expressing the same fact in the faith of the earliest Christians. This fact found its shortest expression in the formula 'Kurios Christos.'¹⁴³

We have been unable to discover a point anywhere in the New Testament when faith in Jesus' person could be expressed in less significant terms than these, and invariably have seen that this faith points back to His Resurrection, and not to some period between that time and the writing of the New Testament. It was then that Jesus was shown forth in all His glory as the Divine Lord.

Such a belief knows no comparison with other "gods" or "lords," with emperor worship or mystery cult, and is ever monotheistic. "For us there is one God, the Father, from whom are all things and for whom we exist, and one Lord, Jesus Christ,

¹⁴²James Denney, Jesus and the Gospel (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1908), p. 101.

¹⁴³Cullmann, The Earliest Christian Confessions, p. 61.

through whom are all things and through whom we exist."¹⁴⁴ Jesus is not only the Lord of men, but the Lord of the universe, the Mediator of creation! This ascription is made about One who was a man, yet ever more than man. It sprang from the experience of the disciples of this man, that, although He had been crucified, yet now He was known as living. However, this did not just happen to any man, but to a particular One Who had prepared them by word and deed for such an experience. Even though it was not until the Resurrection that Jesus' Lordship was vividly revealed to them, the Resurrection did not "by a process of sheer magic and without any psychological preparation"¹⁴⁵ bring the disciples to this belief, but rather it appeared to them as God's vindication of the Messianic claim which Jesus made in the days of His flesh; a claim, to be sure, the content of which they did not grasp until the first Easter morning, but nevertheless one of which they were well aware. It now becomes the task of the chapter following to examine this Messianic claim which Jesus made, both as to manner of expression and to content.

¹⁴⁴I Cor. 8:6.

¹⁴⁵Wilhelm Bousset, Jesus, editor W. D. Morrison, translated by Janet Penrose Trevelyan, (London: Williams and Norgate, 1906), p. 168. Bousset states that such an idea "we are unable to assume precisely on the ground of our strictly historical point of view." Nor is it a safe idea to entertain from the psychological point of view, nor any other proper point of view, for that matter.

CHAPTER III

THE BASIS OF THE LORDSHIP CLAIM

In Chapter I the hopes of Judaism concerning God's promised deliverance were investigated. The chapter which followed was an examination of the earliest strata of the New Testament resulting in the discovery that there was a unity of belief concerning the fact that God's promise had been fulfilled by a figure of such pre-eminence that He was acclaimed as "Lord"; a figure absolutely unique, and defying classification according to current messianic categories. It is at once evident that the terms which were used to describe Him were given content by His person and not merely previously used and ready-made religious categories. For this reason it becomes necessary now to look to the mind of Jesus to determine the true nature of the Messianic role which He portrayed.

Judaism was convinced that God worked through history and His prophets; according to the Church, the person of Jesus was seen to lie in the line of this redemptive action, although He was not merely one phase in a process, but indeed the climatic point of God's revelatory action which illuminated all

that had gone before and all that was to follow.¹ This again makes it clear that a proper view of Jesus' person is only to be received as we look directly toward Him, seeking to discover the nature of the claim which He made.

Now not only is it true that the Resurrection "could not give rise to the belief of His Messiahship ab initio,² [*italics in original*] but the preparation for this belief as displayed by the Christ has behind it His willful knowledge. He is the instrument of God's revelation, the instrumentality of God's redemption, but indeed He is cognizant of that fact, as this study will seek to demonstrate. Therefore our primary question becomes, "What was there in the mind and spirit of Jesus that provided adequate foundation from whence to express His lordship over men?" Not only must we recognize that the primitive Church did not receive full preparation for the lordship of Christ in pre-Christian Judaism, or anywhere else outside of His person, but we must also be cognizant of the fact that Jesus Himself could not discover from previous religious experience adequate basis for it other than His own person

¹Oscar Cullmann, Christ and Time, translated by Floyd V. Filson (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1951), p. 137 states,

The Christ-event at the mid-point, that is to say, is on its part illuminated by the Old Testament preparation, after this preparation has first received its light from that very mid-point.

²A. E. J. Rawlinson, The Gospel According to St. Mark, 7th edition (London: Mathuen and Company, 1949), p. 260.

and experience. The only feasible explanation must come from His knowledge of the unique relation He held to the Father. This knowledge, or consciousness, generally expressed as His "filial consciousness," constitutes the "indispensable psychological presupposition of His acceptance of the mysterious vocation to be the Messiah."³ It is this that we shall first examine.

Frequently Jesus' manner of addressing God is set forth as evidence of His "filial consciousness"; in particular, His obvious preference for the appellation "Father."⁴ However, the Fatherhood of God is quite evident in early Judaism, and is

³A. E. J. Rawlinson, The New Testament Doctrine of the Christ (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1926), pp. 50f.

⁴Wilhelm Bousset, Kyrios Christos, 2nd edition (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1921), p. 52, and Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, The Beginnings of Christianity (London: The MacMillan Company, 1920), I, 402f., do not consider this preference so obvious. Noting that Matthew shows an obvious preference for the title, whereas the other Synoptic accounts use it sparingly, they conclude that Jesus' preference for this title is not evident in the earliest strata of the Gospels.

On the other hand, a study of the statistics below, which have been compiled by T. W. Manson, The Teaching of Jesus (London: Cambridge University Press, 1935), p. 99, suggests quite strongly the contrary opinion, for not only is this custom evident in the Gospel material, but throughout the tradition, indicating that the Church considered it to be a basic and integral part of Jesus' life and teaching.

I. Use of the name 'Father' for God by Jesus [*italics in original*]. Mk 4; Q 8 or 9; M 23 at the outside; L 6; John 107.

II. Use of the name in other books of the N.T. [*italics in original*]. Acts 3; Pauline Epistles 39; Pastoral Epistles 3; Hebrews 2; James 3; I Peter 3; II Peter 1; I and II John 16; Judell; Revelation 4.2.

a common theme of the rabbinical literature;⁵ it was indeed a customary mode of expression. In both cases it is at times related to the whole of Israel, and at other times related to only the God-fearing and righteous,⁶ and is also a common manner of address in prayer.⁷ It would appear that Jesus was not initiating a new doctrine of God at this point.

Nevertheless the virtually exclusive use of the title by Jesus, according to the Synoptic tradition, appears in itself to have a significance which is not at once evident from conventional Jewish practice, for there were other Jewish titles of God which He chose to ignore or which He used sparingly.

Among the chief of these were The Lord (ὁ κύριος), The Blessed (ὁ εὐδαίμων), The Most High (ὁ ὑψίστος), or, under the influence of an ultra-reverential feeling, simply The Name or Heaven. . . [*italics in the original*].⁸

Actually the experience of God as Father "dominates the whole ministry of Jesus from the Baptism to the Crucifixion; that is, it fills the whole period for which we have certain and

⁵George Foot Moore, Judaism (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927), II, 201-211 gives detailed evidence of this.

⁶T. W. Manson, op. cit., pp. 91-93, refers to Hos. 11:1; Ex. 4:22; Jer. 31:9; Ps. 103:13; and Mal. 3:17 for Old Testament illustrations of this two-fold view, and Moore, op. cit., II, 203, cites R. Akiba, R. Judah (ben Illa'i), and R. Meir as rabbinical illustrations.

⁷Ps. 89:26; Isa. 63:16; Eccles. 23:1, 4, etc.

⁸James Moffatt, The Theology of the Gospels (London: Duckworth, 1912), p. 99.

detailed information."⁹ Before that time He undoubtedly frequently addressed God in this manner, after the custom of the day, but at that point the term "Father" took on a new significance to Him.

The Marcan version of the Baptism of Jesus, which is certainly the most primitive account,¹⁰ makes it plain that it is Jesus who saw the heavens rent asunder and the spirit descending like a dove, and He alone who heard the voice from heaven. This suggests that, although the act of John baptizing Jesus was witnessed by others present, the Baptismal experiences are to be traced to the memory of our Lord Himself. If this is true, the voice which Jesus heard represents the fact that at this point He was intellectually, spiritually, and morally ready to apprehend the spiritual affinity existing between the Father and Himself. In addition, the Old Testament passages which the voice appears to quote suggest His apprehension of the nature of His role as a consequence of the Father-Son relationship.

Indeed it is here that we catch a glimpse of the messianic role that Jesus saw for Himself. "Thou art my Son; with

⁹T. W. Manson, op. cit., p. 102.

¹⁰Mark assuredly is the most primitive account, for Matthew has to explain why Jesus was baptized even though he was sinless, and Luke is concerned to make the Holy Spirit descend upon Him in bodily form, as a dove, adding a materialistic twist to the incident. Mk. 1:9-11; Matt. 3:13-17; Lk. 3:21-22.

thee I am well pleased."¹¹ suggests two Old Testament passages. The first, "Thou art my Son," is a quote from Ps. 2:7, which constitutes the coronation formula of the traditional messianic king who sits on Israel's throne; whereas the last part of the quote represents an independent translation of the Hebrew of Isa. 42:1,¹² which is the "ordination formula of the Suffering Servant of the Lord."¹³ Jesus knew Himself to be the Messiah, and also knew the nature of the messiahship which must be His because of His unique relationship to the Father.

The temptation account which follows immediately in Mark,¹⁴ gives additional insight into this matter, for it shows Jesus between two opposing forces, God and Satan. Therefore, the temptations are seen as moves intended to destroy the relation between the Father and the Son; to tempt Him to disobedience, distrust, and disloyalty. The offer of the kingdom of this world is clearly a challenge to disloyalty to God, and the invitation to jump from the pinnacle of the temple is an endeavor

¹¹Mk. 1:11.

¹²Armitage Robinson, St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1903), Additional Note, p. 229 has made this suggestion, considering that "Beloved" should be understood as a separate form of address.

¹³John Wick Bowman, The Intention of Jesus (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1943), pp. 35-40 examines carefully the passage to come to this conclusion.

¹⁴Mk. 1:11f. Q(Matt. 4:1-11; Lk. 4:1-13) gives the more complete account.

to impair His trust. The challenge to turn stones into bread is seen to be an attack on obedience to God when Jesus' reply is read in its original setting (Deut. 8).

There it appears that 'every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God' is the same thing as 'all the commandments of the Lord' and that the way of life is in obedience to the will of God. The point of our Lord's answer can be put perfectly in the words: 'My meat is to do the will of him that sent me,' (John 4:34).¹⁵

Taking the two incidents together, we have the one representing God's choice or appointment of Jesus as the Messiah, and the other evidence that Jesus deliberately chose God as the sole object of His loyalty, trust and obedience, even though such a choice meant assuming a role of suffering and servitude, rather than one of self-exaltation. This brings to mind the words of the ancient passage in Phil 2:6 concerning Jesus, "Who, though he was in the form of God, did not count equality with God a thing to be grasped, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant." Our observation is this; the filial consciousness of Jesus determined His knowledge of His messiahship and its nature.¹⁶

¹⁵T. W. Manson, op. cit., pp. 196f., has made these observations concerning the temptations.

¹⁶Adolf Harnack, The Sayings of Jesus, translated by J. R. Wilkinson (London: Williams and Norgate, 1908), p. 246, fn. 2. The

. . . consciousness of Messiahship never meant anything else for our Lord than a consciousness of what He was about to become [*italics are in the original*]. In His soul the consciousness of what He was [*italics in original*] must have come first, and only when this had attained to the height of consciousness of Sonship could the tremendous leap be taken to the consciousness of Messiahship.

This points to an understanding of the famous Father-Son passage of Q,¹⁷ where Jesus maintains that His knowledge of the Father surpasses that of any other. It is not so much mere "knowledge" in the sense of a "rational" thing, but rather insight into the nature of God, which indicates a unique communion with God through love involving an absolute trust, loyalty and obedience; it is not so much theological as religious.¹⁸

The genuineness of this saying is frequently doubted, with varying degrees of opinion, from completely "outside the sayings of Jesus,"¹⁹ to whether or not it is a saying of Jesus, "I am not able to make up my mind."²⁰ There are a number of reasons, other than linguistic, for doubting its primitiveness. Perhaps the foremost among these is the recognition that it is Johannine in flavor. This is, of course, undeniable, but hardly adequate ground for allocating it to the work of the later Church, unless, as T. W. Manson states, "we are prepared to lay it down as a canon of criticism that no saying in the Synoptics which has a parallel in the Fourth Gospel can be a genuine

¹⁷Lk. 10:21f., Matt. 11:25-27.

¹⁸Such Old Testament verses as Deut. 34:10; Isa. 11:2; Jer. 22:16; 31:34; Hos. 4:1; 6, suggest the type of knowledge which is intended.

¹⁹Martin Dibelius, From Tradition to Gospel, translated by Bertram Lee-Woolf (London: Ivor Nicholson and Watson, 1934), p. 280.

²⁰Rawlinson, op. cit., p. 263.

utterance of Jesus."²¹ Is it not probable that here we discover a point where the Fourth Gospel approximates the mind of Christ as it is seen to relate closely to the words of Jesus Himself?

Bousset maintains that it was an original word of Jesus which received transformation in the Hellenistic-Christian circles and he cites examples from the Hermetic Literature of the early Christian centuries as parallels.²² Dibelius notes similar examples in the Odes of Solomon and in the extra-canonical literature.²³ However, neither of these suggestions has received wide-spread acceptance.²⁴ On the other hand, the observation that there is a remarkable parallelism with Ecclus. 51:1-30 is more worthy of consideration. According to E. Norden, the similarity of thought sequence is this:²⁵

| | | |
|-------------------------|-------------|-----------------|
| Thanksgiving to God | Matt. 11:25 | Ecclus. 51:1-12 |
| Revelation of a mystery | 11:27 | 51:13-22 |
| Appeal to men | 11:28-30 | 51:23-30 |

This parallelism is, of course, broken down if vv. 28-30 are not included in the passage. On the other hand, if these verses

²¹T. W. Manson, op. cit., p. 110.

²²Bousset, op. cit., pp. 46ff.

²³Dibelius, op. cit., pp. 281-283.

²⁴Vincent Taylor, Jesus and His Sacrifice (London: MacMillan and Company, Ltd., 1937), pp. 36f. in particular considers that this saying is much more similar to certain Old Testament passages than to the other literature suggested.

²⁵E. Norden, Agnostos Theos (Berlin: Teubner, 1913), pp. 227f.; William Manson, Jesus the Messiah (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1943), p. 73 note additional language similarities.

were included in the Q logia, it "is indeed an arguable sign of primary tradition that the 'yoke' of Jesus is declared to be easy and his burden to be light."²⁶ The later community was not so ready to speak of the ease of Jesus' commandments. However, there is no reason to suppose that Jesus could not and did not use the language of Wisdom to express Himself. Furthermore, we cannot draw too close a distinction between the elements of Jewish and Hellenistic Christianity, for we "do not know to what extent mystical ideas had found a place in late Jewish circles so as to form a part of the heritage of Jesus."²⁷

There seems no conclusive reason to reject the saying and there are a number of valid reasons for its acceptance. It is certainly Hebraic in thought, for as we have noticed above, it is similar to many Old Testament passages concerning the knowledge of God, and similar treatments are to be found in the writings of Paul.²⁸ The language is likewise "full of Semitic turns of phrase,"²⁹ and its appearance in Q suggests, at least,

²⁶ Ibid., p. 73.

²⁷ T. W. Manson, op. cit., p. 75.

²⁸ I Cor. 13:12; Gal. 4:9.

²⁹ T. W. Manson, in H. D. A. Major, T. W. Manson, C. J. Wright, The Mission and Message of Jesus (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1938), p. 371. Also W. L. Knox, Some Hellenistic Elements in Primitive Christianity (London: Cambridge University Press, 1944), pp. 6f. Matthew Black, An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts (London: Oxford University Press, 1946), pp. 41, 79f., 140f., 180 points out Aramaisms in the passage.

its authenticity. It is entirely in keeping with the fact that Jesus' consciousness of His unique "sonship" was confirmed to Him by the Father at His Baptism, and is also consistent with His remark to Peter at Caesarea Philippi, that "flesh and blood has not revealed this to you, but my Father who is in heaven."³⁰ The suggestion of T. W. Manson that it quite possibly followed after Peter's confession³¹ indicates very well the likelihood of its historicity. Here Jesus would naturally rejoice at the fact that the disciples had gained insight into His person, a knowledge given them by the Father. He would naturally go on to speak more directly to them concerning the relationship He held to the Father, as they were now ready for this information. It is not strange that He would have made known to them His more-than-prophetic role, for surely this was His own knowledge.

All things have been delivered to me by my Father; and no one knows the Son except the Father, and no one knows the Father except the Son and any one to whom the Son chooses to reveal him. (Matt. 11:26)

If we must say with Harnack, "As to whether the section is genuine word for word, who is there that can assert this, and who can prove it?", we can also say with him, ". . .it can be shown that it contains conceptions which fit in with our Lord's

³⁰Matt. 16:17. Although this may not be a verbatim utterance of Jesus, it represents what the Church knew to be the source of their recognition of Jesus as the Christ.

³¹T. W. Manson, The Teachings of Jesus, pp. 110f.

genuine sphere of thought."³² It is here that we come to realize the failure of such messianic titles as were discussed in Chapter I to express Jesus' role, for we can only understand the significance of Jesus' messianic role as we come to realize the nature of the relation which He held to the Father. This representation of a new personal relation between God and man is that which Jesus knew as His possession, and that which distinguished Him from all other men.

The Parable of the Vineyard³³ is concerned primarily with a direct challenge to the Jewish leaders that they have refused to accept every prophet sent from God, although there is also the implicit claim that Jesus is the Son of God. This parable reminds us of the sermon of Stephen in Acts, which has been dealt with earlier, that has been considered by many to be a development of the Christian community.³⁴ However, if this is a work of a later writer, it is strange that he did not give the story greater historicity by "inserting a reference to the Resurrection, or by mentioning the death after the casting from the vineyard, in view of the idea that Christ suffered 'without

³²Harnack, op. cit., p. 218.

³³Mk. 12:1-12; Matt. 21:33-45; Lk. 20:9-19.

³⁴Julicher, Die Gleichnisreden Jesu (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1910), II, 385ff., R. Bultmann, Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition, 2nd edition (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1931), p. 191, and others consider that Jesus never used allegory and, therefore, relegate this to the teaching of the later Church.

the gate' (cf. Heb. xiii. 12)."³⁵ The work is seen to be consistent with the economic conditions of the time,³⁶ and it is consistent with what we believe Jesus knew concerning His own person; that is, that He was "greater than the prophets." It is not unlikely that He could see doom descending on the existing administration of Israel. Furthermore, who better than Jesus would know the extent to which God would go in an attempt to reconcile Israel to Himself?

Now then if Jesus knew Himself to be the Son of God, the Messiah, why did He not openly proclaim His messiahship, following the confession of Peter? The reason must be that such a claim would have immediately established in the minds of His hearers certain ideas relating to the Messianic role with which He had no part. The temptations indicate Jesus' awareness of the dangers associated with the popular notions of Messiahship, and, perhaps, suggest the temptation that was His to appeal to these ideas.

This is, of course, contrary to the opinion held by most of the Form Critics, who following in general Wrede's theory of the "Messianic secret,"³⁷ conclude that the disciples and even Jesus were not aware of His messiahship until after

³⁵C. H. Dodd, The Parables of the Kingdom (London: Nisbet and Company, 1950), pp. 125f. relates the parable to the conditions of the country at the time.

³⁶Taylor, op. cit., p. 107.

³⁷Wilhelm Wrede, Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1901).

the Resurrection. This opinion is based largely on the secrecy imposed frequently in Mark by Jesus,³⁸ and His many withdrawals from the crowds to instruct the disciples privately.³⁹ The explanation is that this came about as an attempt of the early Church to show that Jesus had known Himself to be the Messiah from the beginning, whereas actually He had not.

There are a number of good reasons for dismissing this theory. To begin with, there is no assurance that the Resurrection would of itself have led to the recognition of Jesus as the Messiah. Primarily, though, it neglects to consider properly the Messiahship which was Jesus'. There is nothing so strange about His request for silence to those who seemed to have discovered who He was. It is far more reasonable to assume that the claim He made required more than a simple affirmation of Messiahship in terms recognizable to the popular mind, and that the very nature of Jesus' claim would not allow it to be communicated directly, for "every man must apprehend it for himself, or rather, not 'flesh and blood,' but the 'Father who is in heaven' must reveal it to a man's inner soul."⁴⁰

Furthermore, although, as we shall later notice, Jesus pointed to the significance of His own figure, it must be

³⁸Mk. 1:25, 34, 43; 3:12; 5:43; 7:24, 36; 8:26, 30; 9:9, 30.

³⁹Mk. 4:10, 34; 7:17; 9:28, 31, 33; 13:3.

⁴⁰Bowman, op. cit., p. 173.

recognized that the supreme reality in His life was the Father. It was His desire that others be aware of this fact. When He was asked by the chief priests, scribes, and elders⁴¹ by what authority He acted, the answer implied is that His authority was from heaven. The fact that He answered them by asking another question is typical of the time.⁴² To Jesus as well as to His disciples, John was a prophet sent by God and the answer He implied is no other. Not only does He know that it is His unique relation to the Father which determines His messianic role, but He calls for faith and insight on the part of those about Him, that they too may be aware of this fact. It is foremost also in His mind when He replies to the questioner in Mk. 10:17ff. by first directing His queror's thoughts to God, the source of all goodness. Such a statement as *τίμω λέγεις ἁγαθόν; οὐδεὶς ἁγαθός, εἰ μὴ εἰς, ὁ θεός* could hardly have come from any other than Jesus Himself. He declined such a designation "because He was unwilling that any one should thoughtlessly deal with such an epithet; and here, as always, the honour due to the Father was the first consideration with Jesus."⁴³ The messiahship which Jesus represented entailed far more than the Jewish religion had ever dreamed of or hoped for.

⁴¹Mk. 11:27ff.; Matt. 21:23ff.; Lk. 20:1ff.

⁴³Examples of the Jewish method of answering one question about religious matters by asking another are given in H. L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1928), I, 861f.

⁴³Gustaf Dalman, The Words of Jesus; translated by D. M. Kay (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1902), p. 337.

If, then, it was impossible for Jesus to communicate His messiahship directly to men, how did He proclaim it? Demonstration is the only answer. His

. . . method of claiming Lordship over men was to call them to 'follow' him, to attend upon his person, to see his marvelous works, to hear his matchless teachings, to 'come and see' for themselves, and thus to form their own judgment.⁴⁴

Every man must make his own decision about Jesus, then, as well as now. This is the manner in which He answered the question of John the Baptist, who sent messengers to ask, "Are you he who is to come, or shall we look for another?", for He replied, "Go and tell John what you hear and see. . ."⁴⁵ It lies behind the confession of Peter, for the disciples must "come and see," and then make their own decision.

What, then, would those with eyes to see and ears to hear be led to notice? The answer must be that they were led to see in Him that uniqueness which distinguished Him from all other men, that certain uniqueness about the figure of Jesus which has been well-termed His "spirit of holiness."⁴⁸ It seems quite certain that He did not use His sense of Sonship toward the Father as an apologetic to gain followers, nor did He indicate that His Davidic descent was vital to His claim, for His sole reference suggests quite the opposite.⁴⁷ Even if His virgin

⁴⁴Bowman, op. cit., p. 156.

⁴⁵Matt. 11:2-6; Lk. 7:18-23.

⁴⁶Bowman, op. cit., pp. 184-187.

⁴⁷Mk. 12:35-37 and parallels.

birth was a fact known to Him, it was never used as an apologetic by Him.

The only apologetic Jesus ever used on his own behalf was what Professor Grant has well termed 'the Spirit of Christ, the most real thing in man's whole upward reach toward God's downward reach toward man.'⁴⁸

It was this which Paul had in mind when he wrote of the Christ, "who was designated Son of God with power, according to the spirit of holiness, by his resurrection from the dead."⁴⁹

This spirit our Lord allowed to speak for itself and so to advance his claims to Lordship. It underlined his teachings, declaring, 'These words issue from a life that is a living example of their truth.' It spoke in his acts of mercy, saying, 'This man doeth all things well.' It manifested itself early in the ministry as a remarkable sort of winsomeness in word and act. It was the incarnation of the principle of love, and so it was more than principle; it was life itself.⁵⁰

It was a perfect ethical character and set Jesus completely apart from all others,⁵¹ for it represented an absolute unity of will with the Father.

This immediately necessitates a particular view to be

⁴⁸Bowman, op. cit., p. 184 quoting F. C. Grant.

⁴⁹Rom. 1:3f.

⁵⁰Bowman, op. cit., pp. 184-185.

⁵¹Moore, op. cit., I, 386, notes that . . . the holiness of God, which in old times conveyed before all else the idea of inviolability, of exalted majesty and consumming purity, or was his godhead in itself, all wherein he is unlike man, came more and more to signify his godhead morally conceived, the sum of those moral perfections in which it is man's chief end to be in human measure like God, thus arriving at the sense which is now ordinarily attached to the word.

taken with regard to the miracles of Jesus.⁵² It is certain that they would not of themselves necessarily imply that Jesus was absolutely unique, for it was an age when miracles were expected.⁵³ On the other hand, it seems to be certain that such acts would point toward their source, even though Jesus did not perform miracles as mere signs, for He would not attempt to mystify, to compel belief, or to satisfy popular demand. But they were "signs" to those who had "eyes to see." Mk. 8:17f. makes this clear when he mentions Jesus' rebuke to the disciples for their lack of spiritual insight. "Do you not yet perceive or understand? Are your hearts hardened? Having eyes do you not see, and having ears do you not hear?" The feeding of the multitude to which these comments refer was no sign to those who lacked the proper insight into its deeper spiritual significance.

In the previous chapter we noted that the primitive community regarded the miracles as evidence of the power of God in Jesus. Peter's words as reported in Acts 2:22 are typical of this, where he speaks of *δυνάμει καὶ τέλει καὶ σημείοις*,

⁵²It is noteworthy that of late a great deal more credence is being given to the miracle stories. Leslie D. Weatherhead, Psychology, Religion and Healing (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1951), 544 pp., and others have been able to demonstrate the possibility of similar healings by their studies of psycho-somatic medical findings. It would appear that today we have information in this field, which, although it may not allow us to duplicate the works of Jesus, will at least give us keener insight into their nature.

⁵³Moore, op. cit., I, 376ff. gives a detailed picture of the Jewish conception of miracles.

οἷς ἐποίησε δι' αὐτοῦ ὁ Θεὸς ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν. They were not to be regarded as signs only, nor did they only serve to authenticate the messiahship of Jesus in the eyes of the populace, but rather served to point to the power of God working in Him, and challenged men to discover His true significance.

Not only did the works of Jesus point to His person, but His words did also. The "I sayings" furnish good evidence of that fact, for in "Greek which does not insert such pronouns except for special emphasis, this 'Sovereign I' is infinitely suggestive of His self-consciousness."⁵⁴ His frequent manner of introducing sayings with the words, "But I say unto you,"⁵⁵ carries a note of authority even greater than that of the prophets. There is no mistaking this note, for "never man so spake"⁵⁶ as He "taught them as one having authority and not as the scribes."⁵⁷ The individual must listen to such a One, for he who hears and lives according to what he hears, is like a man who builds his house on rock, but he who does not, has built upon the sand.⁵⁸ "Heaven and earth will pass away, but my words

⁵⁴A. M. Hunter, The Work and Words of Jesus, p. 88.

⁵⁵This manner of introduction is to be found in all the synoptic strata, suggesting that it was a frequent phrase of Jesus'. For example see Mk. 3:28; 6:11; 8:12; 9:1; 10:15; etc.; (Q) Lk. 3:8; 12:22, 27; etc.; (L) Lk. 7:14; 15:7, 10; 16:9; etc.

⁵⁶Jn. 7:46.

⁵⁷Mk. 1:22; Matt. 7:29; Lk. 4:32.

⁵⁸Lk. 6:46ff.; Matt. 7:24ff.

will not pass away."⁵⁹

By word and deed Jesus pointed to the person He knew Himself to be, set apart from all others by the "spirit of holiness," a high ethical spirit that represented a complete identification of will with the Father. Only in such a spirit can we understand how such a comment as the following could have been made. "Abba, Father, all things are possible to thee; remove this cup from me; yet not what I will, but what thou wilt."⁶⁰

In Q⁶¹ the presence of this spirit in the person of Jesus is revealed in the comment that "the blind receive their sight, the lame walk, lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, the poor have good news preached to them." What else could it mean but that the Kingdom of God was realized in Jesus' person?⁶² Then His comment that "The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand"⁶³ is seen to carry a new significance, for He was not deluded into thinking that the consummation of the Kingdom was to come in the near future,

⁵⁹Mk. 13:31; Matt. 24:35; Lk. 21:33.

⁶⁰Mk. 14:36; Matt. 26:39; Lk. 22:42.

⁶¹Lk. 7:22; Matt. 11:5.

⁶²If we may take for a definition of the Kingdom of God, "that in its essence is the Reign of God, a personal relation between God and the individual. . . a standing claim made by God on the loyalty and obedience of man," then it is at once evident that in the person of Jesus the Kingdom had become in a certain sense a present reality. See T. W. Manson, op. cit., pp. 135f.

⁶³Mk. 1:15; Matt. 4:17; Lk. 4:15.

any more perhaps than other men, but this He did know: the Kingdom of God was realized in His own person.

However, this was not all He had to do with the Kingdom, for reference to it is frequently on His lips. Indeed, "it is the central theme of the teaching of Jesus, and it involves His whole understanding of His own person and work."⁶⁴ It is imperative, therefore, to examine the teaching of Jesus concerning the Kingdom in order to discover an adequate view of the significance of His person, and keener insight into His messianic role.

In spite of Jesus' obvious concern with the Kingdom of God and the primary position it holds in His teaching, there are variant views held on the subject.

A comparatively recent opinion of what Jesus had primarily in mind concerning the Kingdom, and one which seems to be having a great deal of influence,⁶⁵ is that which is known as "Realized Eschatology." This expression was coined by C. H. Dodd and we will quote him for a brief summary of its position:

The absolute, the 'wholly other,' has entered into time and space. And as the Kingdom of God has come and the Son of Man has come, so also judgment and blessedness have come into human experience. . . . The Kingdom of God in its full reality is not something which will happen after other things have happened. It is that to which men awake when this order of time and space no longer limits their vision, when they 'sit at meat in the Kingdom of God' with the blessed dead, and

⁶⁴Alan Richardson, "Kingdom of God," A Theological Word Book of the Bible (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1950), p. 119.

⁶⁵W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge Press, 1948), pp. 285-320, evidently follows this quite closely as does Hunter, op. cit., pp. 72-74.

drink with Christ the 'new wine' of eternal felicity. 'The Day of the Son of Man' stands for the timeless fact. So far as history can contain it, it is embodied in the historic crisis which the coming of Jesus brought about. But the spirit of man, though dwelling in history, belongs to the eternal order, and the full meaning of the Day of the Son of Man, or of the Kingdom of God, he can experience only in that eternal order.⁶⁶

Another position is represented best by Schweitzer, and is known as "Consistent Eschatology." This view is that Jesus expected a catastrophic and imminent end of history, and God's establishment of His perfect reign.

He does not establish it, but waits, like others, for God to bring about the coming of the Kingdom by supernatural means. He does not even know the day and hour when this shall come to pass.⁶⁷

Furthermore, it is insisted that when Jesus spoke of the Kingdom He spoke of it in that sense only. The absolute character of His ethic is explained as being a result of His belief in the imminence of the Kingdom; in other words, it was only an "interim ethic." The fact that He spoke as if it had already occurred is to be explained as a consequence of its imminence.

A third position worthy of mention, although less tenable than the others, is that of the advocates of the "Social Gospel."⁶⁸ They will admit that Jesus challenged men with the

⁶⁶Dodd, op. cit., pp. 107f.

⁶⁷Albert Schweitzer, The Quest of the Historical Jesus, 2nd edition, translated by W. Montgomery (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1948), p. 238. See also his, The Mystery of the Kingdom of God, translated by W. Lorrie (New York: Mead and Company, 1914).

⁶⁸Sheiler Matthews, The Messianic Hope in the New Testament, 2nd edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1913), and H. B. Sharman, The Teaching of Jesus about the Future (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1909), are two foremost proponents of this view.

Kingdom of God in their midst by His work and words, but state that it was a challenge to achieve an ethical character motivated by love for God and love for man. Jesus' position in the Kingdom is that of leader or teacher of the movement, and His messiahship is to be understood from that standpoint. In other words, the Kingdom comes to those who recognize God's sovereignty and strive to do His will by high ethical living.

There is great strength in this last position as it is seen to emphasize the important ethical implications which are revealed in the teachings of Jesus, and it has been instrumental in pointing up the "this-worldly" aspect of the Gospel. However, in the words of Vincent Taylor,

Our modern labouring for the coming of the Kingdom is a noble conception, fully baptized into Christ and expressive of His spirit; but it is not His teaching regarding the Basileia. He does indeed ask men to pray for its coming (Lk.xi.2), and it is likened to a merchant seeking goodly pearls (Mt.xiii.45f.), but always the coming is sheer miracle (cf. Mk.ix.26-9). It is God's gift (Lk.xii.32), and man's unexpected discovery. . . Its fulfilment awaits the good pleasure of God (cf. Lk.xi.2).⁶⁹

Now our position is this: it is very doubtful if Jesus' understanding of the Kingdom of God can be restricted to any one of these views, and it is far more likely that He employed the concept in all three senses. There are

. . . three independent conceptions of the Kingdom as an eternal fact, as a manifestation in the present life of men, and as a consummation still to come. . . paralleled in Jewish thought before and after the days of Jesus as well as in the early Christian literature.⁷⁰

⁶⁹Taylor, op. cit., pp. 10f.

⁷⁰T. W. Manson, op. cit., p. 136. I am largely indebted to him for the verse references which are sighted below.

A few of the Old Testament verses are as follows:

The Kingdom of God as an Eternal Fact⁷¹

But the Lord is the true God; he is the living God, and the everlasting King: at his wrath the earth quakes, and the nations cannot endure his indignation. (Jer. 10:10)

For the Lord is a great God, and a great King above all gods. In his hand are the depths of the earth; the heights of the mountains are his also. . . (Ps. 95:3f.)

The Kingdom as a Manifestation in the Present Life⁷²

The Lord has taken away the judgments against you, he has cast out your enemy: the King of Israel, the Lord, is in your midst; you shall fear evil no more. (Zeph. 3:15)

The Kingdom of a Future Consummation⁷³

Before the Lord; for he comes, For he comes to judge the earth. He will judge the world with righteousness, and the peoples with his truth. (Ps. 96:13)

And the Lord will become King over all the earth: on that day shall the Lord be one, and his name one. (Zech. 14:9)

Now, in spite of arguments to the contrary, there is good evidence in the New Testament writings that the early Church held this same threefold view. There can be no doubt that the eternal sovereignty of God was a belief common to all of the early Church, for it was basic to the very hope of Israel which Jesus had fulfilled. To the Church, Jesus' presence was primary evidence of the fulfillment of that hope.

⁷¹Additional references are Ps. 47:2; 145:13; Dan. 4:3, 34; Jer. 10:7; 46:18; 48:15; Zech. 14:9, 16f.; Mal. 1:14; Ps. of Sol. 17:4; Enoch 84:2, etc.

⁷²See also Ps. 5:3; 84:4; Isa. 43:15; 44:6, etc.

⁷³Also Ps. 96-99; Syb. Oracle 3:46ff.; 3:767ff.; Assumption of Moses 10:1, etc.

That Paul believed this is evident from an examination of his writing. The power of the Kingdom is already present (I Cor. 4:20), and already we have been delivered from the dominion of darkness to the kingdom of His beloved Son (Col. 1:13). Yet the belief in a future consummation is also evident as a number of references reveal.⁷⁴ The writer of the Fourth Gospel is acutely aware of it when he portrays Jesus as saying to the disciples who are the nucleus of the Church, "In the world you have tribulation; but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world."⁷⁵ He clearly speaks of the present reality of "eternal life,"⁷⁶ which is John's manner of expressing "Kingdom of God," and yet he is likewise certain of a final Advent.⁷⁷ The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews writes that the Christians have already realized the powers of the world to come,⁷⁸ but again he looks to a future date when "the

⁷⁴Rom. 13:11-13; I Cor. 6:9f.; 15:24, 50; Gal. 5:21, etc. The division of Paul's writings in stages, as A. M. Hunter, Paul and His Predecessors (London: Nicholson and Watson, 1940), pp. 124-129, has done, whereby it is argued that whereas when he first wrote he was greatly interested with a future consummation, and eventually this concern was completely over-shadowed by his conviction that in a real sense the Kingdom was present, does not do justice to the Apostle who was a matured theologian before he ever began to write; nor does it fully make allowance for the natural variation of content due to the needs of the churches he addressed.

⁷⁵Jn. 16:33.

⁷⁶Jn. 3:16-21; 5:24-26; 12:44-48.

⁷⁷Jn. 5:27-29.

⁷⁸Heb. 7:25; 12:22.

coming one shall come."⁷⁹ It is quite true that in the kerygma the emphasis is on the present fact that God's final and decisive act has taken place,⁸⁰ but nevertheless it is implied in the whole kerygma and is explicitly set forth in Acts 3:20f.⁸¹ Is it too much to assume that the Church understood and followed the teaching of Jesus at this point? Standing as He did between the Old Testament and the New, it seems only logical that He represented a continuation of this thinking. To be sure, from His time afterward the Church has shifted emphasis; for whereas Judaism was primarily interested in the future consummation, Christianity laid its most heavy emphasis on the present reality of the Kingdom. However, this very emphasis represents the mind of Christ, for He knew the Kingdom to be present in His own person in a manner as never before.

Earlier reference was made to the fact that Jesus viewed the miracles as "signs" for those who possessed proper spiritual insight. Such a statement as, "If I by the finger of God cast out demons, then the Kingdom of God has come upon you."⁸² is not to be dismissed. The working of miracles was proof that

⁷⁹Heb. 9:28; 10:37.

⁸⁰Acts 2:16; 3:18, 24.

⁸¹Acts 10:42. C. H. Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching and Its Developments (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1944), pp. 33f.

⁸²Lk. 11:20; Matt. 12:28.

the Kingdom was at hand.⁸³ Jesus' casting out of demons was good evidence that already the forces of evil were being overthrown and God's reign was apparent as never before. Such evidence cannot be construed to mean that Jesus is in league with Satan, but rather demonstrates that already the strong man himself is bound.⁸⁴ In other words, when He was met by the seventy rejoicing that even the demons are subject to His name, He said, "I saw Satan fall like lightning from heaven."⁸⁵ Something was being achieved through the ministry of Jesus and His disciples. It spelled the inevitable end of the reign of the Satanic forces and the coming full manifestation of God's sovereignty among men.

A study of certain of Jesus' sayings indicates that He felt a new era had followed John the Baptist, for He makes a decided distinction between the period of the law and the prophets, and the time which follows. "From the days of John until now the kingdom of heaven exercises its force

⁸³Goguel's view that Jesus did not consider the miracles as essential, although they served to deepen His sense of vocation, does not properly picture the significance they played in His Messianic role; for they were real evidence to Him of the power of God working in Him. See Maurice Goguel, The Life of Jesus, translated by Olive Wyon (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1933), pp. 87ff. Alan Richardson, Miracle Stories of the Gospels (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1941), Chap. III, gives a much more detailed representation of the importance of the miracles to Jesus.

⁸⁴Mk. 3:22-27; Matt. 12:24; Lk. 11:15-22.

⁸⁵Lk. 10:18.

(βίαι), and those who exercise force capture it."⁸⁶

This was indeed a great day, for as great as John was,

". . . yet he who is least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he."⁸⁷ "From the days of John" implies that he belonged to the old age, but after him came the age of Jesus, the new age, when the kingdom exercises its force. It is a time when "those who exercise force," that is, "those who will risk everything," will seize it.

On the one hand, the kingdom exercises force; on the other, those who exercise force seize it. This combination of contrasts sums up the whole of Jesus' preaching and its characteristic bi-polarity of thought. For on the one side, the kingdom comes and works, and affects and seizes and grows of itself, without man's being able to do anything to help. And yet on the other side, only by summoning all one's power, and with the most strenuous determination, does one press into it.⁸⁸

The unmistakable mark is that the kingdom is present and at work in the world, and that it is available to men in a way never before realized. He indicates this also in the parable of the Vineyard⁸⁹ where He distinguishes the son from the servants, that is, the Son from the prophets, and then makes it clear that there is something new here; for, "They will reverence my son" implies that there should be a different reaction from that one

⁸⁶Matt. 11:12; Lk. 16:16. This is a rendering given of Matt. 11:12 which is most satisfactory. Rudolf Otto, The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man, 2nd edition (London: Lutterworth Press, 1943), p. 108.

⁸⁷Matt. 11:11.

⁸⁸Otto, op. cit., p. 111.

⁸⁹Mk. 12:1-12, Matt. 21:33-45, Lk. 20:9-19.

set against the prophets.

There are a number of other words of Jesus' which indicate the presence of the Kingdom, or at least imply it,⁹⁰ yet there are many which unmistakably reveal His hope for some future consummation, and it is only by violent methods of exegesis that such an element can be removed. Such an expression as *ἔλθ' ἡ βασιλεία*,⁹¹ which Jesus taught His disciples to pray, can hardly be completely understood as a petition for "thy will be done" in the minds and hearts of those who so pray, although this may be a part of the meaning. It is rather to be compared with the twofold meaning which *μαρναναθά* has; that is, for the presence of the Lord in a meeting of worship and also for His future return, for it also has future emphasis attached to it as it is a prayer for the future consummation of the Kingdom of God.

Perhaps it is true that there "is no saying of the unequivocal form, 'The Kingdom of God will come,' to balance the statement, 'The Kingdom of God has come.'"⁹² Indeed, such a comment would be a surprise in view of the fact (which we have noted previously), that the emphasis was on the present reality of the Kingdom. However, the future hope is not completely

⁹⁰ A number of these are:

Mk. 9:47; 10:14f., 23-25; 12:34.

Q (Lk.) 12:31f.; 13:18f., 20f.; 17:20f.

M Matt. 13:24ff.; 13:31f., 44, 45; 18:4.

L 22:29.

⁹¹ Matt. 6:10, Lk. 11:2.

⁹² Dodd, The Parables of the Kingdom, p. 53.

overshadowed, at least not to the point of extinction. "There are some standing here who will not taste death before they see the Kingdom of God come with power,"⁹³ speaks apparently of a future coming of the kingdom.⁹⁴

That Jesus should look to see this consummation reached within the experience, and before the eyes, of the generation for which He had laboured and suffered was natural and inevitable. The same strain of expectation recurs in Lk. xxi.32 and in Mark 14:62.⁹⁵

Nevertheless, the emphasis is on the inbreaking of the Kingdom. The parables of growth are frequently considered as referring to a future harvest; however, the point of these parables appears to be, rather, that "something has now happened which has never happened before."⁹⁶ By deed and parable Jesus is making known to His disciples the mystery of the Kingdom.

Just as Jesus is in his actions the instrument or occasion of the divine power breaking in upon human life for our salvation, so in these parables he is the exponent of the idea of this mystery.⁹⁷

Jesus quite certainly recognized the eternal reign of God; but He also knew that in His coming God has begun to reign in a new way; and yet He still looked to a further establishment of the

⁹³Mk. 9:1, Lk. 9:27, Matt. 16:28.

⁹⁴Dodd, op. cit., p. 53 believes a proper reading of the verse should be, "There are some of those standing here who will not taste death until they have seen that the Kingdom of God has come with power," meaning that some of those present would before their death realize that the Kingdom had come.

⁹⁵W. Manson, "The Gospel of Luke," The Moffatt New Testament Commentary (New York: Harper, 1930), p. 111.

⁹⁶Dodd, op. cit., p. 178.

⁹⁷W. Manson, Jesus the Messiah, p. 48. This whole quote is in italics .

reign of God. This is vividly illumined by the illustration which Cullmann has used.

The decisive battle of war may already have occurred in a relatively early stage of the war, and yet the war still continues. Although the decisive effect of that battle is perhaps not recognized by all, it nevertheless already means victory. But the war must still be carried on for an undefined time, until 'Victory Day.'⁹⁸

Although in Christ a new stage in the war began, when it is certain that the Satanic forces are losing, still the final victory is in the future. What is significant for our point is that the "decisive battle" has taken place, and it is the one to be emphasized. With clarity of expression Otto states that what distinguished Christ's

. . . own eschatology from previous forms was, on the one side, that he already lived in the miracle of the new age which was active even in the present; that with clear vision he saw this as something already developing and growing around himself to be supported by powers which, as ἀπαρχή, were already penetrating the world, and, supported and filled by these powers, he worked and preached; on the other side, that through works, speech, parable, and charismatic bestowing of power, he mediated contact with this miracle of the transcendental as a private possession to a circle of adherents who came into his train.⁹⁹

In other words, the Kingdom of God was not only present in Jesus' person, but He knew that through Him others would gain admission to it.

T. W. Manson has demonstrated this in a different manner where He has pointed out the similarity between the demands Jesus makes for discipleship and the requirements He sets forth for entrance into the Kingdom of God.

⁹⁸Cullmann, op. cit., p. 84.

⁹⁹Otto, op. cit., p. 155.

Entrance into the Kingdom

Discipleship

A childlike spirit (Mk.x.15).

Readiness to sacrifice (a) material goods (Mk.x.23)(cr.Lk.xii.29ff:Q), (b) physical well-being (Mk.ix.47), (c) family ties (Lk.ix.61f.:L).

Absolute obedience to God's will (Mt.v.20; vii.21:M).

Complete self-sacrifice (Mk.viii.34; Lk.xiv.28-33: L) involving family ties (Mt.x.37; Lk.xiv.26:Q) and even life itself (Mk.xiii.35; Mt.x.39; Lk.xvii.33:Q).

Obedience to Jesus (Mk.vii.34; Mt.x.38; Lk.xiv.27:Q).

Perservering loyalty to Jesus in all circumstances (Mk.viii.38; Mt.x.32f.; Lk.xii.8f.:Q).

The inference to be drawn from this comparison would seem to be that, in the mind of Jesus, to become a genuine disciple of his and to enter into the Kingdom of God amounted to much the same thing.¹⁰⁰

Additional support to the idea that men were able to gain admittance into the Kingdom through the person of Jesus is given by T. W. Manson earlier in the same book where he examines carefully Jesus' sayings concerning the Kingdom of God, and comes to the conclusion that "our four Synoptic sources are in substantial agreement that Jesus speaks of the Kingdom as coming in the former part of his ministry: in the later part he speaks of people entering the Kingdom."¹⁰¹ He concludes that there was a turning point. Then after noting that Jesus refers to the "Father" only in the latter part of His ministry and also

¹⁰⁰T. W. Manson, op. cit., pp. 205f.

¹⁰¹Ibid., p. 129.

applies the title "Son of Man" to Himself only in this period, Manson maintains that the most obvious turning point is the confession of Peter. "Thou art the Christ" is bound up with the coming of the Kingdom and its availability to men. "It was in fact the recognition of the Kingdom in the person of Jesus: and with that recognition the Kingdom could be said to have come."¹⁰² Faith in Christ's person was determinative for entrance into God's Kingdom.

This is given substantial agreement by an additional reference to the miracles. Earlier it was pointed out that these acts pointed to His person. Now it may be stated that they not only pointed to Jesus, but that faith in His person is an integral part of these acts. It is true that instances of healing are related in which Jesus did not call upon human faith as a pre-requisite, as in the narratives of the Gerasene demoniac and the Widow's Son.¹⁰³ On the other hand, in most of the healing narratives Jesus' demand for faith is expressed. He responded to the faith evidenced in the leper's faith by healing him.¹⁰⁴ Mark makes it plain that it was the faith of the four who brought the paralytic to which Jesus responded.¹⁰⁵ He tells Jairus to "Fear not, only believe," when it is reported that

¹⁰²Ibid., p. 130.

¹⁰³Mk. 5:1-20, Matt. 8:28-34, Lk. 8:26-39; Lk. 7:11-17.

¹⁰⁴Mk. 1:40ff.

¹⁰⁵Mk. 2:5.

his daughter is dead.¹⁰⁶ The woman with the issue believed that healing power was attached to His garments, and He commended her for her faith.¹⁰⁷ In Mk. 9:23 He told the father of the epileptic boy, "All things are possible to him who believes," and He sent the blind man away with the comment, "Your faith has made you well."¹⁰⁸ He isn't mentioned as the *not* object of faith by the Centurion of Capernaum, but that individual considered Jesus' power of healing to belong to Him by virtue of His authority.¹⁰⁹ By these acts Jesus displayed the evidence of the Kingdom in Himself, and also set forth the reality that through His person the healing power of the Kingdom could be mediated to men.

It is thus that we understand the questions, "Who do men say that I am?" and "Who do you say that I am?" He was not in curiosity seeking to learn what sort of reception He was being given among those who heard Him, for He was not blind to this. He was not seeking to have a Messianic title attached to His

¹⁰⁶Mk. 5:36.

¹⁰⁷Mk. 5:34.

¹⁰⁸Mk. 10:52.

¹⁰⁹It is impossible to hold with the Form Critics that the faith in the miracle-stories is only faith in the ability of Jesus to perform miracles, that His power was displayed almost mechanically without any demand on the individual. There was nothing "mechanical" in His inability to do mighty works in Nazareth because of their unbelief (Mk. 6:5f.). See E. Basil Redlich, Form Criticism (London: Duckworth, 1939), pp. 130f. for a review of the Form Critic position with regard to the miracle-stories.

person, at least not a popularly-conceived title. His interest was to focus attention on His person, to demonstrate that through His person the Righteous Reign of God is mediated to men, for He knew that He, and He alone, could introduce men to the Father.¹¹⁰

The parable of the Bridegroom and His Guests strongly supports this view.¹¹¹ It is well-known that Rabbinic literature compares the Kingdom to a banquet, as also does Q.¹¹² As this parable quite evidently refers to the Kingdom, the comment of Jesus, "Can the wedding guests fast while the bridegroom is with them? As long as they have the bridegroom with them, they cannot fast." clearly implies that He is the bridegroom, and, therefore, that His figure is inseparable from the presence of the Kingdom. The disciples of John can fast whether John is present or not, but Jesus' disciples are not to fast, but instead, to feast at the Kingdom banquet when He is present. Men's concern with His figure is of greater importance than the performing of sacred religious fasting.

Jesus' manner of self-designation is likewise relevant. Although it is sometimes doubted that Jesus' usage of the title

¹¹⁰Goguel, op. cit., p. 385, is of the opinion that after Peter's confession, Jesus "now asks for attachment to his person, and not only for the acceptance of his message."

¹¹¹Mk. 2:18ff, Matt. 9:14ff., Lk. 5:33ff. It is quite possible that verse 20 is a secondary development (See Dodd, op. cit., p. 116, fn. 2), but the portion that concerns us is not to be doubted. Dibelius, op. cit., p. 43, considers it a paradigm of of noteworthy purity.

¹¹²Lk. 14:15-24, Matt. 22:1-10.

"Son of Man" is authentic, the evidence to the contrary is quite overwhelming. The possibility that the editors of the Gospels have added it is doubtful since they fail to use it other than on His lips, evidently preferring other messianic titles. Furthermore, the manner in which it is placed after the confession of Peter, and in answer to the High Priest's question, "Are you the Christ, the Son of the Blessed?"¹¹³ in the answer "I am; and you will see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of power. . . ." indicates that Jesus preferred it and used it at two of the highest points of his career. Evidently it superseded all other messianic titles in describing His role.

Earlier mention was made that Jesus appeared to derive His understanding of the term from Daniel 7, where it is used in the sense of the Saints of the Most High. In this sense the Son of Man may be closely identified with the Kingdom of God, and it becomes clear that "The coming of the Son of Man is the coming of the Kingdom of God"¹¹⁴ to the mind of Jesus.

Likewise, we have pointed out that the sayings concerning the Son of Man, disregarding those sayings where the apparent meaning is "I," may be grouped into the two motives, a motif of exaltation, and a motif of humiliation. The futuristic element of exaltation is in parallel with the coming of the Kingdom into power, for as Otto has said,

Both belong together. That they do is not apparent on the

¹¹³Mk. 14:61.

¹¹⁴Dodd, op. cit., p. 114f.

basis of some psychological reconstruction, but on that of eschatological logic itself. For the Son of Man belongs to the kingdom of God. The kingdom throws its shadows forward into the present; it is not yet here in power, but is already here 'before his power,' like the shadow cast before him, as the one who some day will be the Son of Man in his power.¹¹⁵

The corporate significance of the Son of Man is another reason that it was used by Jesus. Quite evidently it was His desire that men identify themselves with Him in unique fashion. An examination of a few Pauline passages explicitly makes it clear that this was His understanding. We are ". . . fellow heirs with Christ, provided we suffer with him in order that we may also be glorified with him."¹¹⁶ The Christian indeed must go along through the suffering and death of Christ, in order that He may experience also the final victory. Perhaps such things are foreshadowed in sayings like, "If any man would come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me."¹¹⁷

Jesus' selection of twelve disciples is particularly significant, for here He represents the new Israel, the remnant centered about His person. This cannot have been mere chance, for there must have been others besides the Twelve who were associated with Him, and He frequently made appeals for them to follow Him.¹¹⁸ He tells the one who first would bury his

¹¹⁵Otto, op. cit., p. 161.

¹¹⁶Rom. 8:17. A number of Pauline passages identify the believer with Christ in his suffering, death and resurrection, as Rom. 6:6, 8; Gal. 2:20; Eph. 2:6; Col. 2:12; 3:1, etc.

¹¹⁷Mk. 8:34.

¹¹⁸Mk. 8:34, Lk. 14:25-27, Matt. 10:37f.

father, to "follow me."¹¹⁹ The rich young ruler is another example.¹²⁰ Apparently He is enacting a parable representing His establishment of the new Israel with Himself as the head since the old Israel has rejected Him. As the servant in the parable of the Great Feast,¹²¹ He invites the guests to come to the Kingdom of God. However, when they reject His invitation, He goes out and invites the "poor and maimed and blind and lame" and finally seeks them from the highways and hedges.

The fact that in Him has come a new era, when even the temple was purged of its impurity, that in Him the divine sovereignty over even the temple is realized, is pictured in His cleansing of the temple.¹²² Klausner considers it an act of Jesus designed to draw popular attention to Himself and His followers, which was accomplished by "sheer force."¹²³ However, it is not likely that we have here a picture of Jesus resorting to force. Rather, the language of the Gospel accounts is portraying the fact that the crowd of traders were "simply quailed by His holy indignation."¹²⁴

¹¹⁹Lk. 9:59.

¹²⁰Mk. 10:17-22.

¹²¹Lk. 14:15-24, Matt. 22:1-10.

¹²²Mk. 11:15-18.

¹²³Joseph Klausner, Jesus of Nazareth, translated by Herbert Davey (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1925), pp. 311-316.

¹²⁴Rawlinson, The Gospel According to St. Mark, p. 156.

...there is in his action an implicit condemnation of the traffic of victims inseparably connected with the sacrifices, as well as a protest against the greed and the secular spirit which turns 'a house of prayer' into 'a den of robbers' (Mk.xi.17).¹²⁵

Yet there seems to be more. There is the strong suggestion that here is an acted parable based on Mal. 3:1:

Behold, I send my messenger to prepare the way before me:
and the Lord whom ye seek will suddenly come to his temple;
and the messenger of the covenant in whom you delight,
behold, he is coming, says the Lord of hosts.

It is as if Jesus were saying, "Behold, you have here the Lord come to His temple, preceded by His messenger, and the fulfillment of the Old Testament symbolism ought to be clear to you who know the Scriptures."¹²⁶ It is significant that later when He was challenged to state the authority by which He did such a thing, He makes reference to John the Baptist,¹²⁷ suggesting that John was the "messenger." "It is an act of prophetic and super-prophetic authority: The implicit assertion, indeed, of the supreme authority of Jesus as the Messiah."¹²⁸ It is a supreme challenge to the temple authorities "by confronting them with the judgment of the divine sovereignty upon their stewardship of

¹²⁵Taylor, op. cit., p. 68.

¹²⁶John Wick Bowman, The Religion of Maturity (Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1948), pp. 122f., has an excellent treatment of this passage.

¹²⁷Mk. 11:30.

¹²⁸Rawlinson, op. cit., p. 156.

God has assigned it to Him, and He in turn invites men to partake of it.

Although Mark and Matthew do not express, "Do this in remembrance of Me,"¹³⁴ this would appear to be the intention of Jesus. Paul, perhaps without realizing it, "was only making explicit something which was already implicit."¹³⁵ Or again, "Possibly by Mark's time this was so axiomatic that he does not insert the command."¹³⁶ At any rate, whether or not the words are late, they properly signify the intention of our Lord to establish the tradition of representing the unique fashion by which the believers are joined with Him, and thereby admitted to the Kingdom.

Paul certainly understood the Eucharist as representative of a "fellowship" with Christ. "The cup of blessing which we bless, οὐχὶ κοινωνία τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐστὶ; The bread which we break, οὐχὶ κοινωνία τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐστίν;¹³⁷ Behind the Greek word κοινωνία lies the Aramaic "Chaburah," meaning a company of friends, which, according to Oesterley, was used currently to describe a group of close associates, or sharers in a common life.¹³⁸

¹³⁴I Cor. 11:24.

¹³⁵Goguel, op. cit., p. 446.

¹³⁶Hunter, The Work and Words of Jesus, p. 117.

¹³⁷I Cor. 10:16.

¹³⁸W. O. F. Oesterley, The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy (London: Oxford University Press, 1925), pp. 172ff. See also Otto, op. cit., pp. 277ff.

This "Char^fburah" was absolutely unique, however, for membership in it represented membership in the Kingdom. Always the Church has understood that participation in this Sacrament symbolizes a participation with the body of Christ, a promise of union with Him in the transcendent world beyond.

In summation we may say that Jesus is the Lord because He knew Himself to be, not because of later developments in reflective thought which took place in the Gentile-Christian centers. It is indeed significant that the earliest confession concerning the Christ was expressed in two brief phrases, "Jesus is Lord," and "Jesus Christ is the Son of God," which are not separate and independent assertions.¹³⁹ For it is this very Sonship which explains His Lordship. The unique filial consciousness to the Father, who was the supreme reality in His life, transcended any messianic thought category existent, and could only mean that He was the Lord of men. For He, and He alone, could introduce men to the Father.

Nevertheless, between the claim of Jesus and the great and central affirmation of the Christian faith, must be the conclusive battle with the powers of darkness, which represents their inevitable defeat and the divine proof of this fact, the historical vindication of the Lordship claim, the Resurrection of Jesus, and His establishment at the right hand of God, as

¹³⁹Oscar Cullmann, The Earliest Christian Confessions, translated by J. K. S. Reid (London: Lutterworth Press, 1949), pp. 57ff.

the Son of God in power.¹⁴⁰ It is about this that the next chapter is concerned.

¹⁴⁰Rom. 1:4.

CHAPTER IV

THE DIVINE VINDICATION OF THE LORDSHIP CLAIM

Previously it has been noted that Jesus knew Himself to stand in a unique relation to the Father, and because of this position was able to bring men to the Father; that He was, in other words, the Lord of men. Into this picture looms one great and challenging event--His death on a cross! However, as shall be seen, this was indeed a necessary part of the whole action of God, whereby man is able to find a victory over the powers of darkness. For even as Jesus knew Himself to be a perfect subject of the King, He also knew that others were not so; that in order to fulfill His messianic mission He must indeed make the sacrifice necessary to sever forever the grip of sin on mankind. This, of course, is at no point explicitly obvious, but rather lies in the background as this chapter will seek to demonstrate.

From the first the Cross raised great questions for the Christian Community. This was true for both Jew and Gentile. There is the possibility that the Jews knew of a suffering messiah,¹ but it was unthinkable that the Messiah should die on the Cross. Davies has pointed this out as he quotes from the

¹See Chapter I concerning this.

"Dialogue with Trypho."²

Then Trypho remarked, 'Be assured that all our nation waits for Christ; and we admit that all the scriptures which you have quoted refer to Him. Moreover, I do also admit that the name of Jesus, by which the Son of Nave (Nun) was called, has inclined me very strongly to adopt this view. But whether Christ should be so shamefully crucified, this we are in doubt about. For whosoever is crucified is said in the law to be accursed, so that I am exceedingly incredulous on this point. It is quite clear, indeed, that the scriptures announce that Christ had to suffer, but we wish to learn if you can prove it to us whether it was by the suffering cursed in the law.'

It is the mode of death which concerns R. Ishmael in Semah. VIII.

'...by two more steps thou shalt be in the bosom of the righteous men and thou weepest?' R. Ishmael said, 'Do I weep because we are to be slain? No, but because we are to be slain in the same way as murderers, and as the desecrators of the Sabbath were...'³

It is in the light of stories such as the above that we are to understand how a Rabbi would regard a death by crucifixion; the latter was a death that according to the Torah implied that the victim was outside the pale of Israel; that he was hêrem [*italics in the original*].⁴

The shame of the Cross is often mentioned in the New Testament. According to Paul, "Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, having become a curse for us--for it is written, 'Cursed be every one who hangs on a tree.'⁵ Again, in Gal. 5:11 he refers to τὸ σκάνδαλον τοῦ σταυροῦ, and in I Cor. 1:23, "We preach Christ crucified, Ἰουδαίοις μὲν σκάνδαλον,

²W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge Press, 1948), p. 281, quoting from Chapters 89 and 90 of "Dialogue with Trypho."

³Ibid., p. 284.

⁴Loc. cit.

⁵Gal. 3:13.

ἔθρεσι δὲ μωρίαν .” In Hebrews 12:2 διόχους

κατὰ φρονήσεως refers not to "the horrible torture of the crucifixion, but its stinging indignity."⁶ If this be true, how can it be that later the Cross became a focal point of the Christian faith? For,

. . . what was at first a blinding darkness to the followers of Jesus became in time the very fountain of their seeing. From saying that Jesus was the Messiah despite the event of the Cross they came to say that he was the Messiah in virtue of that event.⁷

If this shattering event, which must have shaken the very hope of the disciples, should so soon be proclaimed as "according to the definite plan and foreknowledge of God,"⁸ what is the explanation? Is it not to be found in the mind of Christ? Apparently "it was not possible to detach that event from the will of God. . . nor from the revelation of that will as made known in the character and mind of Jesus."⁹

In another instance a reference was made to the associations of exaltation and suffering which Jesus made with the Son of Man. Contrary to the opinion of Bultmann, Jesus taught that

⁶James Moffatt, "Epistle to the Hebrews," International Critical Commentary (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1924), p. 197.

⁷William Manson, Jesus the Messiah (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1943), p. 121.

⁸Acts 2:23.

⁹W. Manson, op. cit., p. 123.

"the Son of Man must suffer many things."¹⁰ The only explanation of comments such as these is that He knew that His suffering and death were necessary to the establishing of the Divine Rule.

This was clearly the understanding of Paul. It was his belief that in the cross God triumphed over the principalities and powers.¹¹ Again he states, "The death he died he died to sin, once for all, but the life he lives he lives to God. So you also must consider yourselves dead to sin and alive to God in Christ Jesus."¹² Indeed, the righteousness of God has been made manifest apart from the law in Christ Jesus, "whom God put forward as an expiation by his blood."¹³ God has done what the law could not do, "sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh and for sin, he condemned sin. . ."¹⁴ Paul saw in the Cross of Christ the manifestation of God's righteousness and the condemnation of sin. In other words, "Paul understood that the death of Jesus fell within the Kingdom of God, as a part of the

¹⁰Rudolf Bultmann, Jesus and the Word, translated by Louise Pettibone Smith and Erminie Huntress (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934), p. 213 states

Moreover, Jesus did not speak of his death and resurrection and their redemptive significance. Some sayings of such a character are indeed attributed to him in the gospels, but they originated in the faith of the church--and none of them in the primitive church, but in Hellenistic Christianity.

¹¹Col. 2:13-15.

¹²Rom. 6:10f.

¹³Rom. 3:21ff.

¹⁴Rom. 8:3.

effective assertion of God's sovereign rule in the world."¹⁵

Furthermore this part of the Pauline teaching is included in the pre-Pauline passage of I Cor. 15:3ff.¹⁶ Evidently "ὅτι Χριστὸς ἁπέναντι ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν" was the interpretation which Paul had received from the Church.

The Acts of the Apostles furnishes no direct teaching relating the death of Jesus to the sin of men, although forgiveness of sin is offered in His name.¹⁷ This evidence is not conclusive however, for, as is often noted, the Acts does not furnish a complete picture of the Apostolic preaching, but needs to be supplemented by the other writings.

I Peter 3:18 reads, "For Christ died for sins once for all. . . that he might bring us to God. . .," and earlier, "He himself bore our sins in his body on the tree, that we might die to sin and live to righteousness."¹⁸ There are several passages in the Epistle to the Hebrews where the death of Christ is related to forgiveness of sins.¹⁹ According to the Fourth Gospel, John the Baptist said, when he saw Jesus coming toward him, "Behold,

¹⁵C. H. Dodd, The Parables of the Kingdom (London: Nisbet and Company, 1950), p. 78.

¹⁶This passage was dealt with in Chapter II.

¹⁷Acts 2:38; 5:31; 10:43.

¹⁸I Peter 2:24.

¹⁹Heb. 7:27; 9:11f, 14, 26, 28; 10:12; 13:11f.

the Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world!"²⁰ Later, when Jesus is anticipating the Passion, He is reported to have said, "Now is the judgment of this world, now shall the rule of this world be cast out,"²¹ implying that He looked upon His coming passion as a victory over the powers of darkness. The Apocalypse proclaims the sacrifice of Christ as that which ransomed men for God.²² It pictures a "Lamb standing, as though it had been slain, with seven horns and with seven eyes. . . .,"²³ quite evidently suggesting the thought of One who through sacrifice has become King and Lord, for the seven horns undoubtedly signify kingly power and the seven eyes omniscience.²⁴ There is evidence that the Pastoral Epistles and I John related Christ's death to forgiveness from sin.²⁵ This is a part of the tradition common to the early Church, and quite likely based on the teaching of Jesus, although, "No saying of Jesus, preserved in the Gospel tradition, connects His death with sin."²⁶

²⁰Jn. 1:29.

²¹Jn. 12:31.

²²Rev. 6:9.

²³Rev. 6:6.

²⁴R. H. Charles, "The Revelation of St. John," International Critical Commentary (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1920), I, 140ff.

²⁵Vincent Taylor, The Atonement in New Testament Teaching, 2nd edition (London: Epworth Press, 1945), pp. 50f., 137f., gives evidence of this. I Tim. 2:6; Titus 2:14; I Jn. 1:7.

²⁶Ibid., p. 61.

numinous sphere of the cultus. It means release from an obligation which is the obligation of sin."³¹ The verse means, at least, that by the willful surrender of His life, the Son of Man provides a means of deliverance for men.

Here again we have a clear synthesis of the Son of Man and Isaiah's Servant of God. The saying speaks of the Son of Man. At the same time it characterizes the coming of the Son of Man by the conception of a humble ministry. Such ministry was to reach its climax in voluntary self-surrender unto death.³²

The words Jesus spoke in the "upper room" (Mk. 12:24) when He said, "This is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many," are consistent with the belief that Jesus understood and anticipated His death as a necessary means for the victory over the powers of darkness in order that the establishment of a real fellowship between God and men be accomplished. The chief reason for rejecting this verse is that arising from the Jewish aversion to drinking blood.³³ Dibelius believes I Cor. 11:25 to be the earlier form, for

. . . a Jewish Christian Church with its dread of blood would scarcely have made Jesus say 'this is my blood' (in the cup), but rather 'this cup means a new covenant which is instituted by my blood, i.e. by my death.'³⁴

Klausner is even more outspoken as he states, "The drinking of

³¹Otto, op. cit., p. 257.

³²Ibid., p. 252.

³³Lev. 17:10-16.

³⁴Dibelius, op. cit., p. 207.

blood, even if it was meant symbolically, could only have aroused horror in the minds of such simple Galilean Jews."³⁵ Taylor meets these arguments as follows: Jesus was no ordinary Palestinian or Galilean Jew, but rather one "who believed himself to be the Son of Man destined to suffer on behalf of the many."³⁶ He considers it a doubtful canon of authenticity to disregard the verse on grounds of "horror," for many of Jesus' words and acts often aroused horror and violent opposition from the Jews. Furthermore, the disciples were hardly "simple Palestinian Jews," but rather individuals who had been learning from Jesus for months concerning the fact that the Son of Man must suffer, and they would not be likely to "take the words of Jesus as a bare suggestion that in drinking wine they were drinking blood symbolically."³⁷ Finally, as the objection to these verses gains strength if the theory of transubstantiation is accepted, Taylor points out that Jesus did not teach that the wine was transformed into blood. Rather,

The wine remains wine, but wine invested with a new significance and power. . . . What Jesus had in mind is a redemptive activity, not a transformation of 'substance'; He is thinking of His life surrendered for the salvation of many,

³⁵Joseph Klausner, Jesus of Nazareth, translated by Herbert Davey (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1925), p. 329. C. G. Montefiore, The Synoptic Gospels (London: MacMillan and Company, Ltd., 1909), I, 326 notes this and apparently favors the suggestion that the original rite included bread alone.

³⁶Taylor, op. cit., p. 134.

³⁷Ibid., p. 135.

and the wine is offered as a symbol of the life and a means whereby it may be appropriated.³⁸

There seems no final proof to give for the authenticity of this verse, yet the person most likely to have said it is He who knew the power of God to dwell in His person in unique fashion.

It is a certain fact that Jesus was greatly concerned about the reality of sin in men's lives.³⁹ Likewise He was concerned with the salvation of sinners, for, "Those who are well have no need of a physician, but those who are sick; I came not to call the righteous, but sinners."⁴⁰ The Parables of the Wicked Husbandman,⁴¹ the Two Sons,⁴² the Unmerciful Steward,⁴³ and others suggest His awareness of the dire consequences of sin. When Peter rebuked Jesus for His statement that "the Son of Man must suffer many things. . .," Jesus came back with the stern command, "Get behind me, Satan! For you are not on the side of God, but of men."⁴⁴ He knew what must be done to gain entrance into the Kingdom of God for me. "The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of

³⁸Loc. Cit.

³⁹Ibid., p. 280. Taylor points out that this is an increasing concern of Jesus as He approached the Passion.

⁴⁰Mk. 2:17.

⁴¹Mk. 12:1-11.

⁴²Lk. 15:11-32.

⁴³Matt. 18:23-35.

⁴⁴Mk. 8:31-33.

God is at hand; repent, and believe in the gospel."⁴⁵ Sin indeed was the obstacle before Him, and even as He knew His messianic task He knew also the sacrifice which He must make. If the Church taught Paul that "Christ died for our sins," it did so because it knew the mind of Christ. The deep sense of the sacrifice He must make was so bound up with His sense of vocation that it

. . .reinforced the sense of vocation itself. . . .When obstacles began to block his way and he realized that it was part of his mission to be rejected, he did not despair of the fulfillment of God's purpose; he did not think that it would be realized in spite of his failure and in spite of his rejection, but by his sufferings and by his rejection. This was a direct result of his faith in the omnipotence of God. . . .Jesus did not believe that he was the Messiah although he had to suffer; he believed that he was the Messiah because he had to suffer.⁴⁶

The Passion is unavoidable, and He states therefore, "The Son of Man goes, as it is written of him, but woe to that man by whom the Son of Man is betrayed."⁴⁷

In Chapter III it was suggested that the Baptism narrative reveals that even as Jesus knew Himself to be the Son of God, He also knew that the nature of His messiahship must be that of suffering and rejection. The Cross stands as the final symbol of Jesus' complete identification of will with the Father. Although He prays, "Abba, Father, all things are possible

⁴⁵Mk. 1:15.

⁴⁶Maurice Goguel, The Life of Jesus, translated by Olive Wyon (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1933), pp. 391f.

⁴⁷Mk. 14:21.

to thee; remove this cup from me;" yet He continues with these words, "yet not what I will, but what thou wilt."⁴⁸

The main, unforgettable impression which we gain from the story in its earliest recoverable form is not that of human treachery and vindictiveness, or of the sufferings endured by the martyr-hero, as in the Maccabean tales and in many Christian martyrologies, but an impression of the calm certainty with which Jesus goes to his death.⁴⁹

When Pilate asks Him, "Are you the King of the Jews?", His reply is simply, οὐ λέγεις.⁵⁰ He does not even bother to reply to the accusations of the chief priests. If it is God's will that He die, if it is necessary that His death take place in order that man be freed from sin, He will go ahead to the Cross in trust and obedience. For this reason it is unnecessary to disregard all sayings which anticipate suffering and death for the Son of Man. They are absolutely consistent with the One who was the perfect subject of the perfect King.

Actually, however, it was not until after the Resurrection of Jesus that His death was given any deep theological significance. For although we have seen reason to believe that He taught the necessity and coming of His death, and related it to conflict against sin, there is no proof that the disciples had clear and explicit understanding of this. Rather it took the Resurrection to vindicate completely the claims of Jesus, especially this one. Assuredly in the eyes of the earliest

⁴⁸Mk. 14:36.

⁴⁹Frederick C. Grant, The Earliest Gospel (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1943), p. 184.

⁵⁰Mk. 15:2

believers the Resurrection stood out as the Divine stamp of approval. It was then that He "was installed Son of God with power." "If Christ has not been raised, your faith is futile and you are still in your sins."⁵¹ Were it not for the Resurrection the sacrifice of Christ would have been in vain. In spite of Jesus' training of the disciples, His death must have appeared to terminate His claims and His work hopelessly, and it was not until the post-Easter season that men began to grasp a proper perspective of the significance of Christ. It was not until then that they realized that the sacrifice only preceded His exaltation to the right hand of God, and that it was through this very sacrifice that Jesus became both Lord and Christ. To this other side of the event we now turn.

The point here will not be to discuss questions relating to the historicity of the Resurrection, but to indicate the witnesses to the reality of it, in order to set forth the importance it held to the Church and to the proclamation of Jesus as Lord. The important thing, as was mentioned in another instance, is not that Jesus was raised, but rather that He was known as alive after His death. The very existence of the Church bears testimony to that fact. Earlier it was maintained that Jesus' intention was to establish a "Charburah" about His person. Now it may be stated that without the knowledge of the living Lord this group would never have become the Christian Church.

⁵¹I Cor. 15:17.

The primitive Christian community was not a memorial society with its eyes fastened on a departed master; it was a dynamic community created around a living and present Lord. The Church, which remembered Jesus, also knew him still.⁵²

It is perhaps better to say that Paul⁵³ does not mention the finding of the empty tomb because the early tradition which he had received from the primitive church was concerned with the experience of that body with its risen and living Lord (wherefore they knew He was risen), and not with the materialistic proof of that fact; than to state, "Paul does not mention the finding of the empty tomb, and it may be safely presumed that he does not know of it."⁵⁴ It is indeed true that the empty tomb did not constitute an unvarying part of the earliest tradition. In Mk. 16:5 the women at the tomb see ". . . a young man. . . dressed in a white robe." In Matt. 28:2ff. they find an angel of the Lord whose ". . . appearance was like lightning and his raiment white as snow." Lk. 24:4 relates that the women saw ". . . two men, in dazzling apparel." Furthermore, the comment in Mark⁵⁵ that ". . . they said nothing to anyone, for they were afraid," quite possibly indicates an attempt to explain the reason for the absence of the empty tomb from the earliest tradition, and Matthew's failure to include it may be attributed to

⁵²John Knox, Christ the Lord (Chicago: Willett, Clark and Company, 1945), pp. 60f.

⁵³I Cor. 15:3ff.

⁵⁴John Knox, op. cit., p. 62.

⁵⁵Mk. 16:8.

the fact that the "...question had become unnecessary when Matthew and the other Gospels were written."⁵⁶ However, this does not disprove the reality of the experience of the women at the tomb, but gives weight to our contention that the foremost evidence for Jesus' resurrection was the fact that He was known as alive. There was no need for an ordered narrative concerning the Resurrection of Jesus in the early Church, because there were individuals present who could testify to having seen Him since His death, and what greater evidence was needed? "To them He presented Himself alive after His passion by many proofs."⁵⁷

Resurrection was not foreign to the thinking of the Jews. According to R. H. Charles there are three Jewish doctrines of the resurrection.

(1) All Israelites are to rise. Dan.xii.2; I En.i-xxvi (except xxii.13), xxxvii-lxx, lxxxiii-xc; Ps.lxv (title) in LXX; 2 Macc.vii.9, 2 Bar.1-11.6. (2) All righteous Israelites, Isa.xxv.8, xxvi.19; Ps. xvi.10, 11, xvii.15, lxxiii.24-7; Job xiv.13-15, xix.26-7; I En.xci-civ; Pss. Sol. iii.16, xiii.9, xiv.7, xv.15; 2 Bar.xxx; Joseph Ant.xviii.1, 3; Bell. Ius.ii.8.14. This is the received Talmudic view. (3) All mankind are to rise, 4 Ezra vii.32, 37; Test. 12 Patr.Benj.x.608.⁵⁸

Actually, one of the chief points of the contention between the Pharisees and the Sadducees was the doctrine of the resurrection from the dead. It is this particular cleavage that

⁵⁶John Knox, op. cit., p. 64.

⁵⁷Acts 1:3.

⁵⁸R. H. Charles, The Apocrypha and Pseudopigrapha of the Old Testament (London: Oxford University Press, 1913), II, 218, fn.

Paul reportedly took advantage of when taken before the Jewish Sanhedrin,⁵⁹ and he caused a great uproar when he identified himself as a ". . . Pharisee, a son of Pharisees; with respect to the hope and the resurrection of the dead I am on trial." In the Gospel accounts⁶⁰ Jesus severely reprimands the Sadducees, apparently for their failure to believe in the resurrection of the dead, by stating "Is not this why you are wrong, that you knew neither the scriptures nor the power of God?" when He referred to "the book of Moses, in the passage about the bush," a portion entirely acceptable to them and included in their canon of Scripture, (the five Books of Moses).

According to Klausner, it is this evidence that furnishes the answer to the question, "How could faith in a Messiah like this be perpetuated?" "The first disciples came from the Pharisees, not the Sadducees," and from the circles which produced the Jewish apocalypses which were filled with faith in miracles and beliefs concerning who "preceded the creation of the world, . . . who will stand at the right hand of God and judge peoples. . . ."⁶¹ Loisy seemingly carries the answer (a bit) further. First he states that religious faith is

⁵⁹Acts 23:6-10.

⁶⁰Mk. 12:24.

⁶¹Joseph Klausner, From Jesus to Paul, (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1944), p. 439.

. . . essentially nothing else than the whole mind, reason, imagination and will, putting forth their combined energy in an effort to break a way through the natural framework of existence and escape from the mechanism which seems so inexorably to govern the destiny of all things.⁶²

Then he explains,

Thus did the belief in the resurrection of Jesus come to its birth, and the manner of it may be called spontaneous. The faith of the disciples in his Messianic future was too strong to admit of self-contradiction, too strong to give way under the refutation thrown upon it by the ignominy of the Cross. Faith raised Jesus into the glory he expected; faith declared him living forever because faith itself was determined never to die. . . with the fragments of a shattered hope, and building on the death of Jesus, which might have killed their faith outright, the disciples founded the religion of Jesus the Christ.⁶³

Indeed, it is possible that the disciples expected all along that Jesus would not be held by death.⁶⁴ Perhaps it is implied by Peter when he states, "But God raised him up, having loosed the pangs of death, because it was not possible for him to be held by it."⁶⁵ As was earlier mentioned, there was about Him a "spirit of holiness" which set Him apart from all others, for they knew that in Him dwelled the power of God in unique fashion. Likewise the Pharisaic background of many of Jesus' followers may have been influential in the formulation of the

⁶²Alfred Loisy, The Birth of the Christian Religion, translated by L. P. Jacks (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1948), pp. 97f.

⁶³Loc. cit.

⁶⁴James Denney, Jesus and the Gospel (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1926), pp. 122ff. gives a detailed development of this idea.

⁶⁵Acts 2:24.

Church's thinking concerning the Resurrection. However, whether the disciples were Pharisees or Sadducees or neither does not determine the reality of the event, nor does the explanation that "Faith can work such a miracle" furnish any adequate approach to it. For the truth is that the Resurrection was no longer merely a hope, but a faith in a past incident. Certainly, the accomplishment of this event was not to be in any manner or fashion attributed to the faith of the disciples. "Let all the house of Israel therefore know assuredly that God has made him both Lord and Christ, this Jesus whom you crucified,"⁶⁶ is a statement of experience, not the statement of a belief.

Likewise, the statement of Loisy that the faith of the disciples in Jesus' messianic future was too strong to give way even under the ignomy of the cross, neglects to appreciate the Passion accounts given to us. Jesus' prediction that, "You will all fall away; for it is written, 'I will strike the shepherd, and the sheep will be scattered;'"⁶⁷ the prediction of Peter's denial and its subsequent fulfillment; and the Marcan account that "they all left him and fled;"⁶⁸ leave us with the impression that the faith of the disciples received a violent shock. Although it may not have meant a complete shattering of all hope, the inclusion of this material in the gospel tradition (to the

⁶⁶ Acts 2:36.

⁶⁷ Mk. 14:27.

⁶⁸ Mk. 14:50.

obvious embarrassment of the disciples), implies that the falling away of the disciples is not to be discarded as secondary material. To be sure, the Marcan account maintains that the disciples were in Jerusalem during the days following the crucifixion, and the nature of the resurrection appearances ". . . presupposes an attitude of expectant faith on the part of the beholders rather than of despair."⁶⁹ However the event itself anchored that faith securely in the knowledge that "God was in Christ." Resurrection is no longer a vague topic of discussion between the Sadducees and the Pharisees, for the former's rejection of it is denied, and the latter's affirmation of it is likewise denied unless it bases its claim on the already occurred resurrection of Christ. "Resurrection ceases to be only an object of hope; it is faith, and, in particular, faith in a fact, the resurrection of Christ, which has already occurred at the mid-point of time."⁷⁰

The question at this point is, "Did Jesus who, as we have maintained, was the perfect subject of the perfect King, anticipate in any manner His resurrection?" As was mentioned earlier, the Form Critics deny this. They would treat any such passage as secondary material because of the references to the Resurrection "after three days," and because if Jesus did utter

⁶⁹W. Manson, op. cit., p. 122.

⁷⁰Oscar Cullmann, Christ and Time, translated by Floyd V. Filson (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1951), pp. 234f.

such sayings, the despairing attitude of the disciples following the crucifixion is unexplainable.⁷¹ Now this is not a necessary conclusion, for there is good reason to suspect that the phrase "after three days" actually signified "a short period of time,"⁷² and there is likewise the possibility that the ". . . terms of the original forecasts have been sharpened in the light of subsequent events."⁷³ It is far more probable that Jesus uttered such sayings and that the disciples misunderstood them, as Peter's rebuke of Jesus in Mk. 8:32 would suggest. Perhaps certain relevant passages are to be considered as products of the faith of the church; but if, as has been maintained, His knowledge of the Father was as that of a Son, and if He saw the necessity of suffering and martyrdom to the fulfillment of His ministry among men, assuredly His deep conviction was in the invincibility of God. He was certain of the final victory over the powers of darkness, and anticipated that in some manner or other the Son of Man (Himself) would return to the earth in visible power and glory. The view which the author of the Hebrews gives of Jesus, "who for the joy that was set

⁷¹Bultmann, op. cit., pp. 213f.

⁷²Cecil John Cadoux, The Historic Mission of Jesus (London: Lutterworth Press, 1941), pp. 287f., is of this opinion and draws attention to the fact that the normal Hebrew expression for the indefinite and particularly the recent past is "yesterday (and the) third (day)."

⁷³Vincent Taylor, The Formation of the Gospel Tradition (London: MacMillan and Company, Ltd., 1933), p. 50.

before him endured the cross,"⁷⁴ hardly does justice to the experience; for before the Cross, "Such hope as remained to him must have been well-nigh swallowed up in the greatness of his sorrow for the coming misery of Israel and the world."⁷⁵ Even as He anticipated ultimate victory, He was engulfed in sorrow, a sorrow which has been explained well in the following words:

As it is, we must view Jesus' feelings largely as the outcome of his Messianic experience and consciousness. We must see the rejection by God's people, and the death virtually at its hands, from which he shrank with such agony of soul, in the light of his representative function as the bearer of the Father's message of good-will and love to His erring children, His wandering sheep. So viewed, their treatment of God's anointed, His Son par excellence, [*italics in original*] meant for Jesus their own self-condemnation as men culpably blind, in virtue of long failure to respond as they should have done to the higher aspects of the Law and the Prophets, God's special revelation in its preparatory forms, and one meant to lead up to the recognition of the final or Messianic message of Divine Love in the Gospel. To feel that he, with his utter devotion alike to the heavenly Father's gracious will for Israel, and to the welfare of Israel itself, was being turned by his own people's attitude to himself, and to the Gospel entrusted to him, into the means of bringing their corporate sin to a head in a terrible crime, was, indeed, to have a bitter cup held to his lips by the Father's hand.⁷⁶

It is this understanding of Jesus' sorrow that makes it possible to realize that He could even then have foreseen ultimate victory for Himself, for in His mind the final victory of God was never in doubt.

His reply to the question of the high priest, "Are you

⁷⁴Heb. 12:2.

⁷⁵Cadoux, op. cit., pp. 264f.

⁷⁶J. V. Bartlet, "St. Mark," The Century Bible (Edinburgh: T. C. and E. C. Jack, 1922), p. 398.

the Christ, the Son of the Blessed?" strongly suggests His anticipation of the future exaltation and glory. "I am; and you will see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of Power, and coming with the clouds of heaven."⁷⁷ As Otto has pointed out,⁷⁸ these words must have caused embarrassment to the early Church for they appeared to be unfulfilled. There is an apparent attempt by Luke to adjust the statement to the experience of the Church; "But from now on the Son of Man shall be seated at the right hand of the power of God."⁷⁹ The very embarrassing nature of the verse attests to its authenticity, for the community would hardly have invented such a saying. Quite clearly the saying is an affirmative answer to the high priest, with the additional comment that he would have a good opportunity to find out the truth of Jesus' claim. Noticing that Jesus' answer is made up of two Old Testament quotations, Dan. 7:13 and Ps. 110:1, the point becomes increasingly strong that Jesus was cognizant of the fact that He was about to realize a victory over the forces that opposed Him. His use of Psalm 110 suggests that He was about to go to the Father and there to be exalted to the right hand of Power, to await the subjection of all His foes, and His use of Dan. 7:13 suggests that He was about to receive, as the Son of Man, "dominion, and glory, and a kingdom" from God Himself.

⁷⁷Mk. 14:61f.

⁷⁸Otto, op. cit., pp. 227f.

⁷⁹Lk. 23:69.

The meaning of Jesus' reply would therefore seem to be that although He was about to be put to a shameful death He was really entering upon His reign. The idea is brought out by Philippians 11.8-11, where the supremacy of Jesus springs from His humiliation.⁸⁰

It is found elsewhere in the New Testament, as well as in the Apocalypse, which was mentioned earlier. The early Church frequently used Ps. 118:22, "The stone which the builders rejected is become the head of the corner," in the explanation of the significance of Christ to the Church.⁸¹ The Marcan parable of the Wicked Husbandman⁸² includes a reference to this Psalm also, suggesting that Jesus may have used it as well to foretell His ultimate establishment.

There are certain of the Son of Man sayings which refer to future events but do not mention a resurrection directly. For example, "For whoever is ashamed of me and of my words in this adulterous and sinful generation, of him will the Son of man also be ashamed, when he comes in the glory of his Father with the holy angels."⁸³ However the Q form of this saying⁸⁴ is considered by many to be the original, and it is not concerned with a coming of the Son of Man to earth, but rather

⁸⁰T. F. Glasson, The Second Advent (London: Epworth Press, 1946), p. 64.

⁸¹Acts 4:11; Eph. 2:20; I Peter 2:7.

⁸²Mk. 12:1-11.

⁸³Mk. 8:38.

⁸⁴Matt. 10:32f., Lk. 12:8f.

with His appearance before the Father in heaven.⁸⁵ There is a strong possibility that the apocalyptic language in this instance is to be ascribed to a tendency of the Gospel sources to "...emphasize and conventionalize our Lord's apocalyptic teaching."⁸⁶

Mk. 13:26 is another prediction of the "Son of man coming in clouds with great power and glory." This quite possibly is an authentic saying of Jesus⁸⁷, although in its present setting, as a part of the "Little Apocalypse," it is in a rather questionable position, especially when compared with other of His sayings which teach in general that no sign was to be given concerning the end of the age. Mk. (13:33-37), Q(Lk. 17:26f.; 12:39f.), M(Matt. 25:1-13), and L(Lk. 12:35-38), and the early teaching of Paul (I Thess. 5:1-10) agree that the Parousia is to be a sudden event without warning. Because Mk. 13:33-37 gives a different picture of the Great Day from that of the rest of the Marcan Apocalypse, and since even though genuine sayings of Jesus may appear in the section; "The way in which the sayings have been arranged is such as to give a wrong impression of

⁸⁵A. E. J. Rawlinson, The Gospel According to St. Mark, 7th edition (London: Mathuen and Company, 1949), p. 116; A. M. Hunter, The Work and Words of Jesus (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1950), p. 108; Dodd, op. cit., pp. 93f.; T. W. Manson, The Teaching of Jesus (London: Cambridge University Press, 1935), p. 263, are among those who believe the Q form to be the more primitive form.

⁸⁶Burnett Hillman Streeter, The Four Gospels (London: MacMillan and Company, Ltd., 1924), p. 521.

his eschatological teachings,"⁸⁷ it is doubtful if any great weight of argument is to be assigned to this passage.

The primary stress of the parable of the Thief at Night⁸⁸ is on the unexpectedness of the Parousia. When considered with the parables of the Waiting Servants⁸⁹ and the parable of the Wise and Foolish Servants,⁹⁰ the reference may well be to the situation which immediately faced the disciples and Jesus.⁹¹ The authorities are aroused and the attack is about to begin on Jesus. Jesus is able to see the great and overwhelming disaster ahead, and desires to prepare and strengthen the disciples for it. However, at a later time, the early Church came to interpret these parables in terms of the current situation, especially with regard to the hope for Jesus' return. At any rate, the emphasis is on the suddenness and unexpectedness of the event.

The time of the coming of the Son of Man in Lk. 18:8 is not known. Matt. 10:23, "When they persecute you in one town, flee to the next; for truly, I say to you, you will not have gone through all the towns of Israel, before the Son of Man comes," receives no support in the other accounts of the sending forth of the disciples. As it speaks of persecution, it

⁸⁷T. W. Manson, op. cit., p. 262.

⁸⁸Lk. 12:39f., Matt. 24:43f.

⁸⁹Lk. 12:35-38.

⁹⁰Lk. 12:42-46, Matt. 24:45-51.

⁹¹This is the opinion set forth by Dodd, op. cit., pp. 154-174.

presupposes certain conditions which existed at a later time, and quite probably represents the voice of the Church rather than that of Jesus. According to Luke, the Coming of the Son of Man is to be compared to the flashing of lightning, to the flood in the days of Noah, and to fire and brimstone rained from heaven.⁹² Although certain passages of Jesus concerning the Parousia may not be authentic, it is quite certain that His expectation of a coming consummation is too deeply embedded in the tradition to be eliminated. On the other hand, if it is remembered that Dan. 7:13 undoubtedly furnished the background for these passages, it would follow that what is intended includes the Son of Man receiving dominion, and glory, and a kingdom. In the words of Taylor,

The Parousia of which He thinks is not a coming for Judgment, the setting up of the Kingdom, and the Final Restoration of all things; it is rather entrance upon a kingship which is the Father's gift (cf. Lk. xii. 29). It includes all that is meant by the Resurrection, but is a more ultimate and inclusive concept.⁹³

Actually there is little basis for separating the Resurrection and the coming of Jesus as the Son of Man. It is strikingly significant that in no instance does He predict both at the same time, and therefore it is possible that He expressed His coming triumph over death in more than one manner. It is indeed possible that Jesus predicted His triumph in terms of

⁹²Lk. 17:22-37.

⁹³Taylor, Jesus and His Sacrifice, p. 31.

Dan. 7:13, that is, in terms of exaltation and dominion, and according to Hos. 6:2, that is, in terms of resurrection, which quite possibly lies behind such passages as Mk. 8:38; 9:31; 10:33f.⁹⁴

As Streeter has pointed out, the Lucan account⁹⁵ of Mk. 9:1, "There are some standing here who will not taste death before they see the Kingdom of God come with power," omits "come with power," "thus interpreting the 'Kingdom of God' as the Church."⁹⁶ Matthew on the other hand replaces the Kingdom of God "come with power" with "the Son of Man coming in his kingdom," strongly suggesting that he is equating the Son of Man to the Kingdom. Since the early Church lived in anticipation of an immediate return of the Lord, which quite possibly is to be traced to the teaching of Jesus on the point, it seems likely that the Resurrection and the establishment of the Church represent that which Jesus anticipated as an immediate coming of the Son of Man in power. In the words of Barry,

Where the early Church was mistaken was not in expecting the Coming too soon but in failing to see that it had occurred already as the precondition of Christianity and

⁹⁴*ἡμεῖς* Delling, Theologisches Wörterbuch (ed. Kittel), subject *ἡμεῖς*. (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1942).

⁹⁵Lk. 9:27.

⁹⁶Streeter, op. cit., pp. 520f.

the living source of its own Christian experience.⁹⁷

Our conclusions are essentially this: Jesus foresaw coming disaster, but also anticipated ultimate and immediate victory for the cause of God. He who knew Himself to be Son, and knew the extent to which the love of the Father would extend and sacrifice in order to accomplish the breaking of the reign of the powers of darkness, likewise was incapable of doubting that His sacrifice could bring in victory. This is quite consistent with this paper's treatment of the Father-Son passage, where it was maintained that the knowledge of the Father, which Jesus claimed, was "insight into the nature of God" rather than a factual concept.⁹⁸

As far as the early Church was concerned, it was not involved in presenting proofs of the Resurrection; its straightforward affirmation was that Jesus lived. One does not need to offer evidence of one's existence to a given community where one lives--the individual is either alive or he is not! Christ was proclaimed as raised from the dead because they knew Him as

⁹⁷F. R. Barry, The Relevance of Christianity (London: Nisbet and Company, 1931), p. 96. If the teachings of Judaism on this point are relevant,

. . . according to Biblical and Talmudic Judaism, the Messiah only frees Israel from political bondage, makes proselytes of the Gentiles, and judges the nations in righteousness and equity; the rest is done by God alone. And there will be only one appearance [*italics in the original*] of the Messiah; after he has come once--and in this world--everything will again be in the hands of God.

J. Klausner, op. cit., p. 545. See also George Foot Moore, Judaism (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927), II, 323-376.

⁹⁸

See Chapter III for this.

present and living. It was indeed an act of God. "For Jesus' conquest of death and defeat could be nothing less than God in action, God's right arm made bare, God's seal set convincingly to the Messianic claim, God's final vindication of His Son."⁹⁹

Earlier we noticed that Jesus established the "Chaburah" during His lifetime. However, it was not until the Resurrection that the significance of this group was impressed upon the minds of its members. Then the unique character of the Church was born. No longer did they have Jesus in the flesh with them, but, rather, they were aware of His presence and guidance after His death, an utterly unique experience to men. "For the resurrection was not simply Jesus alive after his passion; it was Jesus alive and also known and accessible within the community prepared to recognize and receive him."¹⁰⁰

In Chapter I it was pointed out that the element of sovereignty was associated by Israel with the Messianic office, and in Chapter III it was maintained that by word and act Jesus claimed a sovereignty over the lives of men as He knew Himself to be the Son. However it is not claimed that all of the characteristics of Jesus' sovereignty are to be discovered in His earthly career, as Ritschl seeks to do.¹⁰¹ For when

⁹⁹James S. Stewart, A Man in Christ (New York: Harper, 1935), p. 134.

¹⁰⁰John Knox, op. cit., p. 75.

¹⁰¹H. R. Mackintosh, The Doctrine of the Person of Jesus Christ, 2nd edition (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1913) pp. 379f., refers to Ritschl, Justification and Reconciliation, pp. 454ff.

...faith calls Jesus Lord [*italics in the original*], simply and without qualification, it certainly implies not only that He overcame the world by invincible goodness but that all power is His in heaven and earth. He is omnipotent with the omnipotence of God; to Him belongs absolute might to continue and consummate the work begun by His life, death and victory.¹⁰²

In other words, although Jesus made claim to being the Lord in His lifetime, the full significance of that claim is only understood when the death and Resurrection of Christ are taken as a part of the whole. "Hitherto the disciples had perceived the transcendent quality of His being only by faintest intuition; now at length all things fell into place as His inherent oneness with God was realized."¹⁰³

It is at this point in particular ~~where~~ ^{that} the theory which states that the ascription of Lordship to Christ was brought about as the result of Greek mystery religious influence loses its basis. No matter what terms were used to express the belief of the primitive community, they expressed nothing less than that He was alive, at the right hand of God with dominion, and glory and a kingdom. It was certain that through Him God had in a new way entered into the plane of history--to the disciples the Risen Lord meant an absolute transformation of their views of God, a new eschatology, a new attitude toward the law, a complete and revolutionary changing of their entire religious outlook. For "The old has passed away, behold the new

¹⁰²Ibid., p. 380.

¹⁰³Ibid., p. 418.

has come."¹⁰⁴

Therefore God has highly exalted him and bestowed on him the name which is above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, in heaven and on earth and under the earth, and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.¹⁰⁵

Words expressing a claim no less than this were needed to relate the Church's experience concerning the Resurrected Lord.

Although, the verse preceding, "He humbled himself and became obedient unto death, even death on a cross,"¹⁰⁶ is a necessary pre-requisite, now He is set free from the confines of a life in the flesh, and given complete expression of His Sonship, "Son of God in power."¹⁰⁷ He is now both Lord of the living and the dead.¹⁰⁸ He is the Risen Lord who bestows the Spirit upon the Community.

¹⁰⁴II Cor. 5:17

¹⁰⁵Phil. 2:9-11.

¹⁰⁶Phil. 2:8.

¹⁰⁷Rom. 1:4.

¹⁰⁸Rom. 14:9.

CHAPTER V

THE LORD AND THE CHURCH

The contention is often made that Jesus had no intention of establishing a following, or a community, but that He issued a call to repentance because of the immediacy of the Kingdom, and that, therefore, the disciples were not interested in gaining members for their group, but were, rather, primarily concerned with Jesus' coming day of triumph.¹ However, with the alteration of circumstances, they were forced to recognize that they were a new society, and, following this necessity, they reinterpreted and added to the words of Jesus toward that end. This is, according to the findings of this thesis, a violent misunderstanding of the intention of Jesus.

In the first place, the Kingdom of God, which is at the very center of Jesus' teachings and acts, implies a new people of God. For if He was convinced that through His own person men could gain admittance into the Kingdom, those with insight into this truth who gathered around His person, necessarily formed a new group. His selection of the title "Son of Man" of

¹This is the opinion of Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, The Beginnings of Christianity (London: MacMillan and Company, Ltd., 1920), I, 317f.

itself implies a community of the "saints of the Most High."

In addition, by His actions Jesus appeared to intend to establish a community, since He deliberately selected twelve to intimate fellowship with Himself, as we have previously pointed out.²

In the words of John Wick Bowman:

The thesis which appears to us to be more likely is that Jesus wished by means of an acted parable (a) to teach his people that of this typical Remnant he would raise up a new congregation of Israel to displace the old one; and (b) to challenge, at once his own disciples, and also Israel as a whole, with the implicit, audacious claim that he had the right to do this as the Messiah of the Remnant spoken of in the prophets!³

Furthermore, the contrary type of reasoning does not do justice to the experience of the disciples. From a shattered and demoralized group they were transformed to a band with a power and a confidence and a unity of belief, which resulted in a complete rejuvenation of their spirit. They were the recipients of the power of the Holy Spirit, and knew themselves to be Jesus' witnesses to the world.⁴ They claimed this was in keeping with His last word to them. The nature and power of their transforming experience was so vital that they must preach the "good news" and gather others about them.

This becomes even more clear when the term which the

²See Chapter III.

³John Wick Bowman, The Intention of Jesus (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1943), pp. 213f.

⁴Acts 1:18.

Church came to use in description of itself, ἐκκλησία, is examined. In classical Greek it denoted "a summoned assembly" or rather "an assembly of citizens summoned for legislative business." At Athens the term was applied to the assembly of all citizens, as distinguished from the local assemblies which were called κύριαι.⁵ In Hebrew there are two words, קָהָל and עֵדוּת, which refer to the assembly of Israel. The earlier translators of the Septuagint (the translators of the Pentateuch) rendered both words by the Greek συναγωγή, although later it was reserved for עֵדוּת, and קָהָל was translated as ἐκκλησία. The two Hebrew words appear to have been used fairly indiscriminately, and were both applied, in particular, to gatherings of all Israel.

In this connexion, properly speaking, edah referred to 'the society itself, formed by the children of Israel or their representative heads, whether assembled or not assembled,' while qahal denoted 'their actual meeting together.' But after the Exile, qahal came to be used almost to the exclusion of edah, and combined in itself the two shades of meaning which had formerly kept the words distinct. Meanwhile Israel was becoming more and more conscious of being a peculiar nation, a chosen race, the elect people of God. And so the qahal of Jehovah was used to signify, not an assembly of Israel upon some particular occasion, but the people of Israel as God's people distinct from everybody else, whether assembled or unassembled, the chosen of Jehovah for his service.⁶

Adolf Deissmann has pointed out that the early Christians'

⁵Ernest DeWitt Burton, "Commentary on Galatians," International Critical Commentary (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1928), p. 418.

⁶Edwyn Hoskyns and Noel Davey, The Riddle of the New Testament, 3rd edition (London: Faber and Faber, 1947), p. 23.

insistence on carrying this Greek translation over into Latin, instead of translating it by one or another of the Latin words for "Assembly," ("contio" or "comitia" were often translated by ἑκκλησία), gives evidence that they believed themselves to be the true "Israel of God," the elect race, in opposition to similar Jewish claims. Deissmann believes that the answer lies "doubtless in the subtle feeling that Latin possessed no word exactly equivalent to the Greek ἑκκλησία."⁷

In the Apocrypha ἑκκλησία is used only of Israel, although συναγωγή refers to sinners and to other groups.⁸ Bousset states that by the end of the pre-Christian period the Jewish congregations were widely known as synagogues, whereas ἑκκλησία seems to have fallen in disuse,⁹ giving, perhaps, another reason for the selection of the latter term by the Christians. Even though the Greeks used ἑκκλησία with reference to civil assemblies, the Christians preferred the term for their own congregations, for it would serve well to distinguish them from the Jewish synagogues.

ἑκκλησία is used three times in the Gospels, (Matt. 16:18 and twice in Matt. 18:17), all in material generally

⁷Adolf Deissmann, Light from the Ancient East, translated by Lionel R. M. Strachan (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1910), pp. 112-114.

⁸Burton, op. cit., p. 418.

⁹Wilhelm Bousset, Die Religion des Judentums im Späthellenistischen Zeitalter (Berlin: Reuther and Reichard, 1903), pp. 197f.

assigned to "M" and frequently rejected for one reason or another. The first instance is held by most to be a later insertion of the community, although there is no textual evidence to support this claim.¹⁰ The position of supremacy it assigns to Peter, and the fact that it is inserted immediately after Peter's great confession (whereas the accounts in Mk. 8:30 and Lk. 9:21 insert Jesus' charge that they are to tell no man about him), testify strongly to its lateness in Matthew. From a command to silence, to a statement that "Blessed are you Simon Bar Jona! . . . And I tell you, you are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church," is indeed a great transition, and one that is difficult to explain as other than the work of the later community. The shifting of emphasis back to Jesus in the Johannine counterpart (6:66-71) may suggest that the early Church placed undue emphasis on the person of Peter. The account in John and also Jn. 20:22f. appear to correct what might seem to be a particular privilege of Peter,¹¹ which tends to speak for the

¹⁰Oscar Cullmann, Christ and Time, translated by Floyd V. Filson (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1951), p. 150 and K. L. Schmidt in Gerhard Kittel's Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1942), III, 522ff. consider the passage an authentic utterance of Jesus; although John Knox, Christ the Lord (Chicago: Willett, Clark and Company, 1945), p. 36; James Moffatt, The Theology of the Gospels (London: Duckworth, 1912), p. 32; Vincent Taylor, The Formation of the Gospel Tradition (London: MacMillan and Company, Ltd., 1933), p. 112; Jackson and Lake, op. cit., I, 329; and Rudolf Bultmann, "The Study of the Synoptic Gospels" in Frederick C. Grant, Form Criticism (Chicago: Willett, Clark and Company, 1934), p. 57 are of the contrary opinion.

¹¹James Moffatt, An Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament, 3rd edition (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1949), pp. 252f.

authenticity of the saying as it appears in Matthew.

If, however, it is not a saying of Jesus, it is indeed difficult to reconstruct the words of Jesus which may lie behind it. On the other hand, if the general accuracy of John is reliable at this point, the passage is in keeping with what may have been the experience of Jesus. When many were turning away from Him because He did not meet their expectations for a Messiah who was to give them at least political freedom, it seems quite possible that the loyalty of Peter, expressed in his confession, would have appeared to be a heavenly gift. Perhaps Jesus' open approval was not expressed, and the verse represents the later Church's understanding of what took place. At any rate the point is clearly made that faith in Jesus as the Messiah is the very foundation of the Christian Church.

Although the reference in Matt. 16:18 is to the Church universal, in 18:17 it is dealing with the local Church. Indeed, if this latter is authentic, it would appear to refer to a local Jewish community. Schweitzer, of course, regards both passages under consideration as genuine, and interprets them eschatologically.¹² R. N. Flew¹³ argues from their rarity for their genuineness, maintaining that if the Church were inventing such

¹²Albert Schweitzer, The Quest of the Historical Jesus, translated by W. Montgomery, 2nd edition (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1948), p. 369, fn. 1.

¹³R. N. Flew, Jesus and His Church (London: Epworth, 1938), pp. 123ff.

sayings, it would have invented more. On the other hand, since they appear in Matthew alone it is difficult to place too much weight of argument on them. There is, of course, the strong possibility that they represent enlargements by the Church of certain of Jesus' teachings.

In any case there would be nothing impossible in his deliberately contemplating and forming such a social group, while at the same time keeping hold of the hope that it might possibly come to consist of the nation as a whole. Certain it is that Jesus constantly thought of his followers in terms of a community; and in so doing and in planning for its corporate life during his absence, he may in a certain sense of the word be described as deliberately founding the Church.¹⁴

There is the strong possibility that Mk. 14:58, "I will destroy this temple that is made with hands, and in three days I will build another, not made with hands," is to be understood as a saying of Jesus' concerning the establishment of the Church, although since it was not confirmed at His trial it quite possibly was a misrepresentation or a misunderstanding of what He had said. It seems quite certain that He said something of this nature, for a number of other verses would indicate it.¹⁵ Nevertheless, the evidence is not of such a nature as to make clear what the original saying was. At any rate it is doubtful if He condemned temple worship in such a wholesale fashion, but it "seems clear that he spoke of his cause as a

¹⁴Cecil John Cadoux, The Historic Mission of Jesus (London: Lutterworth Press, 1941), p. 307.

¹⁵Mk. 15:29; 13:2; Jn. 2:19; Acts 6:13.

sort of equivalent of the Temple of Jerusalem,"¹⁶ and quite possibly suggested that even if the Temple were destroyed, His cause would replace it.

In view of Jesus' preference for the title "Son of Man," the manner in which He called twelve about Himself, His establishment of the Last Supper, and a host of other evidence, we are led to the conclusion, that Jesus' intention was to set up the Church--a fellowship of those who share the Kingdom experience,¹⁷ although it must be admitted that the evidence is too scanty to discover how He had envisaged the organization of this community. In other words, the

. . . church came into existence, not after the event, but along with the event, and is really inseparable from it at every stage, just as the event is inseparable from the Church. . . . The Church is thus not so much the consequence of the event as its culmination.¹⁸

The theological meaning of the event, its purpose, in so far as it is given us to see it, is to be found in the creation of the community. The most adequate and accurate single way of describing the saving meaning of the event (or the saving 'work' of the person) is by saying that God through Christ brought into existence a new people--a people in which He could be known, in precisely the way He is known here, as righteous love, as grace and truth, and souls thus reconcile us to Himself. . . . For what is reconciliation but the restoration of a community? And what

¹⁶Cadoux, op. cit., p. 77.

¹⁷Bowman, op. cit., pp. 190ff., deals with this subject extensively.

¹⁸John Knox, On the Meaning of Christ (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947), p. 97. Knox means by "event," "historical occurrence," and is here referring to "the event or closely knit series of events in and through which God made Himself known;" of which Jesus Christ is the center. See pp. 19f.

is the Christian fellowship (in its true character) but community thus restored?¹⁹

In the Acts, ἐκκλησία is used by the author with reference to the Christian community at Jerusalem,²⁰ but later refers to the community at Antioch,²¹ at Caesarea,²² and Ephesus.²³ It even has a universal reference in 9:31. Paul also used ἐκκλησία after this manner, suggesting the earliness of the title as applied to the Christian body, and its being understood in both the local and the universal sense.²⁴

The one incontestable historical result of the events of the ministry, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ was the emergence of the Christian Church. . . . It is the fulfillment of prophetic hopes of a new people of God. It is the Israel of the last days; Isaiah's Remnant; Jeremiah's people of the New Covenant; Ezekiel's renovated Israel, raised from the dead by the breath of the Lord; Daniel's people of the saints of the Most High; Enoch's congregation of the Elect. For in the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ the people of God has passed through death into newness of Life.²⁵

Therefore the Church is referred to in many different

¹⁹Ibid., pp. 101f.

²⁰Acts 5:11; 8:1, 3.

²¹Acts 11:26; 13:1; 14:27; 15:3.

²²Acts 18:22.

²³Acts 20:17.

²⁴Rom. 16:1; I Cor. 1:2; II Cor. 1:1; I Thess. 1:1 furnish evidence of the local sense, and I Cor. 10:32; 12:28; Col. 1:24 are examples of the inclusive usage of ἐκκλησία by Paul.

²⁵C. H. Dodd, History and the Gospel (London: Nisbet and Company, 1938), pp. 149f.

ways by the New Testament writers. It is the Temple in I Cor. 3:16f.; II Cor. 6:16; Eph. 2:21; the seed of Abraham in Gal. 3:29; the Israel of God, Gal. 6:16; Rom. 9:6; Gal. 3:29; the twelve tribes of the dispersion, James 1:1; the spiritual house, I Peter 2:4; I Tim. 3:15; a spiritual house, a holy priesthood, I Peter 2:5 ; "a chosen race, a holy nation, God's own people," I Peter 2:9.

The writers of the New Testament in general proclaim the Church as a new people of God, in agreement with what we maintain was Jesus' original intention and teaching. Paul, for example, is very explicit in distinguishing the Church of God in I Cor. 10:32, as well as Jew and Gentile. His teaching is even more plain in Phil. 3:3 where we read, "For we are the true circumcision, who worship God in Spirit." Again he writes, "For neither is circumcision anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creation. Peace and mercy be upon all who walk by the rule, upon the Israel of God."²⁶ To Paul the Christian community is the new people of God, the new Israel. The words assigned to Peter in Acts 3:25f. likewise make it clear that the believers in Jesus as the Christ are the true Israel, for,

. . .you are the sons of the prophets and of the covenant which God gave to your fathers. . .God, having raised up his servant, sent him to you first, to bless you in turning every one of you from your wickedness.

The speech of Stephen as recorded in Acts²⁷ offers a suggestion

²⁶Gal. 6:6.

²⁷Acts 3:35f.

in the phrase "the ecclesia in the wilderness," of a "parallel to the new ecclesia, the new people of God, the Christian Church, which has in a sense taken the place of the old people of God, the nation of Israel."²⁸

Although I Peter does not include the word *ἐκκλησία*, there are such passages as 2:4, 5, 9 (which we have quoted above), 10, "once you were no people, but now you are God's people"; 4:17, "the household of God"; and 5:2 which refers to the "flock of God," that indicate that in the thinking of the writer of the book the Christian community was the people of God.

Hebrews contains *ἐκκλησία* twice.²⁹ In the first instance it is in a quotation from Psalm 22:22 and agrees with the Septuagint of the verse, save for the use of *ἀπαγγεῶ* instead of *διηγέσονται*. In the Psalm the reference is to the old Israel, although in Hebrews it refers undoubtedly to the new Israel. The two quotations which follow in verse 13, "I will put my trust in him," and "Here am I and the children God has given me," are taken from Isa. 8:17f., and indicate the author's conception of the Church as the children of God gathered about Jesus as the head. In Heb. 12:23, *ἐκκλησία πρωτοτόκων ἀπογεγραμμένων ἐν οὐρανοῖς* is believed by some to be a reference to the "Heavenly Jerusalem," although

²⁸J. W. Hunkin, "The Organization and Worship of the Primitive Church," A Companion to the Bible (T. W. Manson, editor; Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1939), p. 463.

²⁹Heb. 2:12; 12:23.

the majority of scholars prefer to consider it a reference to the people of God on earth.³⁰ As Moffatt has pointed out, the phrase would otherwise be meaningless.³¹

The passage in Jn. 15 :1-8 concerning the Vine and the branches is especially relevant to an understanding of the Gospel of John's representation of the Church as the new people of God, the true Israel. The prophetic manner of speaking of Israel as God's vine or vineyard is frequently found in the Old Testament.³² Therefore there is no doubt that Jesus and the disciples are the true Israel in such a verse as 15:5, which reads, "I am the vine, you are the branches." Nor is there any doubt about the value of membership in "the true vine," for, "If a man does not abide in me, he is cast forth as a branch and withers; and the branches are gathered, thrown into the fire

³⁰A. M. Hunter, The Unity of the New Testament (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1943), p. 69; and R. H. Fuller, Theological Wordbook of the Bible (Alan Richardson, editor; London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1950), p. 48, believe this to be a heavenly reference; although Brooks Foss Westcott, The Epistle to the Hebrews (London: MacMillan and Company, Ltd., 1903), p. 417; William Manson, The Epistle to the Hebrews (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1951), p. 149; and James Moffatt, "Epistle to the Hebrews," International Critical Commentary (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1924) p. 217, are among the many who believe the verse to have reference to the church on earth.

³¹Loc. cit.

³²Isa. 5 :1-7; Jer. 2:21; Ezek. 15:1-6; 19:10-14; Ps. 80:8-16 are examples of this.

and burned."³³

Jesus not Israel, is the vine of God; the disciples, not the Jews, are the branches of the vine. The synagogue is superseded by the Christian Ecclesia, and the true and genuine vine is contrasted with all that is counterfeit, false and inadequate for salvation.³⁴

Certain other Johannine passages suggest the close relationship of the community to Christ. For example, I Jn. 1:3, "Our fellowship is with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ." Also I Jn. 1:6, "If we say we have fellowship with him while we walk in darkness, we lie and do not live according to the truth." There are also a great number of passages which refer to "abiding in" or "being in" Christ or God.³⁵ After a detailed study of these passages, Taylor makes the following observation;

In both writings the relationship is mutual: Christ or God abides in man, and man abides in Christ or God. We should note, further, that in passages not quoted above the same language is used of God's word (v.38, I Jn.11.14),

³³Jn. 15:6. It is interesting to note in this connection that the vine of II Baruch 36-39 is the Messiah who destroys the cedar, "that cedar which was left of the forest of wickedness and by whose means wickedness persisted, and was wrought all those years, and goodness never." This section of II Baruch is dated by R. H. Charles, The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament (London: Oxford University Press, 1913), I, 500, before 70 A.D., suggesting that to refer to the Messiah as the vine was common to the day as well as to the earlier prophetic writings.

³⁴Edwyn Hoskyns, The Fourth Gospel (Noel Davey, editor; London: Faber and Faber, 1947), p. 475.

³⁵Vincent Taylor, Forgiveness and Reconciliation, 2nd edition, (London: MacMillan and Company, Ltd., 1946), pp. 119-122. His detailed accounting of these verses, includes Jn. 6:56; 14:10, 20; 15:4, 5, 6, 7; 17:21, 23, 26; I Jn. 2:5, 6, 24, 27, 28; 3:6, 24; 4:12, 13, 15, 16; 5:20.

of Christ's words (xv.7) of the presence of the Father in the Son (xiv.10b), the message of the Gospel (I Jn.11.24), the anointing from God (I Jn.11.15), and of the love of God (I Jn.11.17); and it is also used of abiding in Christ's word (viii.31), in His love (xv.9f.), in the vine (xv.4) and in love (I Jn.iv.16).³⁶

The reference to the Church as the "body" of Christ in Jn. 2:21 is a metaphor which Paul developed much more extensively. Actually, Paul's usage of the "body of Christ" to represent the Church is another method of expressing the truth which was expressed in the Fourth Gospel in the passage of the Vine and the branches.

There is much disagreement among scholars as to the source of the concept of the Church as the body of Christ. For example, C. H. Dodd is of the opinion that it has come from the influence of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

In the Lord's Supper the bread was designated, in the words of Christ Himself, His 'Body.' For Paul, this meant, not the substance of His natural body--which was flesh (Col. 1.22)--but the organic instrument of His Personality. But in a similar sense the Church itself could be thought of as His 'Body.' Thus in a double sense the sacrament is participating in the Body of Christ. It seems that it was along this line that Paul developed his doctrine of the Church as a body.³⁷

For another opinion let us cite W. L. Knox, who states:

³⁶Ibid., p. 121.

³⁷C. H. Dodd, "The Epistle of Paul to the Romans," The Moffatt New Testament Commentary (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1930), pp. 194f.; A. E. J. Rawlinson, Mysterium Christi (Bell and Deissmann, editors, London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1930), p. 255, and L. S. Thornton, The Common Life in the Body of Christ (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1941), p. 330 are of the same opinion.

The Church as a body, of which the individuals were members, was derived from the Stoic commonplace of the state as a body in which each member had his part to play; in this form Paul had already worked out the parallelism in the same way in which it was worked out in the later rabbinical literature, no less than in the classical writers. Naturally it was also a commonplace of Hellenistic Judaism; the Stoic commonplace was the more easily adapted in view of the metaphors from the body found in such passages as Deut. 28:13. . . .the political developments of the Hellenistic age had changed the conception of the state from a body in which each member had played its part into a body in which the head was the all-important matter;The transference of the conception of the 'headship' of the state to the 'headship' of the cosmos was an easy matter for Paul, since the cosmic headship of the Lord was a headship not so much over the planets as over the living beings who ruled them; but in any case the transference was already a commonplace of popular theology.³⁸

Albert Schweitzer, on the other hand, believes that the explanation lies in Paul's eschatological background.

Since Jesus and Paul move in an eschatological world of thought, the concept of this community of the saints in which, by the predestination of God, the saints are united with one another and with the Messiah as the Lord of the Elect, is to them perfectly familiar.³⁹

It seems unwise to hold that any one of these suggestions is more correct than the others. It may be that all the sources

³⁸W. L. Knox, St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles (London: Cambridge University Press, 1929), p. 161. See also W. L. Knox, Journal of Theological Studies, "Parallels to the New Testament use of σῶμα," XXXIX (1938), pp. 243f., T. W. Manson, Journal of Theological Studies, "A Parallel to the New Testament use of σῶμα," XXXVII (1936), p. 385, and G. C. Richards, Journal of Theological Studies, "Parallels to the New Testament use of σῶμα," XXXVIII (1937), p. 165, for further developments of this explanation.

³⁹Albert Schweitzer, The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle, translated by W. Montgomery (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1931), p. 184.

mentioned were instrumental in the formation of this doctrine. On the other hand, in view of Paul's Rabbinic background, it seems wise to consider in addition the speculations of first-century Judaism for an explanation of the concept under discussion. Davies is of this opinion, stating that, "In his development of the idea of the Church as the Body of Christ, Paul is largely influenced by Rabbinic ideas about Adam."⁴⁰

In the Mishnah there is evidence of a strong emphasis by Judaism on the unity of mankind. In Sanhedrin 4:5 we read:

Therefore but a single man was created in the world, to teach that if any man has caused a single soul to perish from Israel Scripture imputes it to him as though he had caused a whole world to perish; and if any man saves alive a single soul from Israel Scripture imputes it to him as though he had saved a world. Again (but a single man was created) for the sake of peace among mankind, that none should say to his fellow, 'My father was greater than thy father'; also that the heretics should not say, 'there are many ruling powers in heaven.' Again (but a single man was created) to proclaim the greatness of the Holy One, blessed is he. . . the King of kings. . . has stamped every man with the seal of the first man, yet not one of them is like his fellow.⁴¹

Judaism maintained in its later speculations that the head of Adam was formed from the earth of the Holy Land, the trunk of his body from Babylonian soil and his members from the soil of different countries.⁴² This was developed to such a

⁴⁰W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1948), p. 53.

⁴¹Herbert Danby, The Mishnah (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), p. 388.

⁴²H. L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1928), III, 479.

point that certain individuals were thought of as being attached to particular parts of Adam's body, some to his hair, some to his ears, etc.⁴³ The unity of mankind was literally taken to lie in Adam, and in a certain sense it was the nature of his creation that laid the basis for harmony among men. Therefore, there is the strong probability that Paul's usage of the term "body" instead of some other word to express the unity of the believers with one another and with Christ, is to be traced to the speculations of Judaism. Particular weight is added to this argument from an examination of the Pauline term, "Second Adam," which we shall treat in the chapter following.

Paul's favorite formula for expressing the relation of the Christian to Christ was to state that he was "in Christ." It is now generally held that a proper understanding of this phrase is to be had by treating it as a social concept.

Just as the air of life which we breathe is 'in' us and fills us, and yet we at the same time live and breathe 'in' this air, so it is with St. Paul's fellowship with Christ: Christ in him, he in Christ. . . . It must be conceived as the peculiarly Pauline expression of the most intimate fellowship imaginable of the Christian with the living, spiritual Christ.⁴⁴

However, as Taylor, following Weiss, indicates, all passages do not place the same emphasis on the formula.

Sometimes it indicates that salvation is present in the person of Christ (Rom. iiii.24, 2 Cor. v.19); at other times

⁴³Ibid., II, 174.

⁴⁴A. Deissmann, Paul: A Study in Social and Religious History, translated by W. E. Wilson (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1926), p. 128.

it describes the act of a representative (I Cor.xv.22: 'so also in Christ shall all be made alive'): in some cases the words depend on verbs of praising (I Cor.i.31, etc.), hoping (Phil.ii.19), and trusting (Phil.ii.24; and in others again the 'in' is instrumental or is used in the sense of 'through' (I Thess.iv.1: 'We beseech and exhort you in the Lord Jesus'). Weiss, however, recognizes the full mystical sense in such passages as I Cor.i.30, 2 Cor.v.17, Phil.iv.1, cf.iv.13, I Thess.iii.8; and to these may be added other examples like Rom.vi.11, viii.1, I. Thess. i.1, as well as parallel passages in which the phrase 'in the Spirit' appears.⁴⁵

In spite of the variety of emphasis on this formula, it is clear that there are instances where the primary meaning of being "in Christ" is to be "in the Church," and recently scholars have been placing greater emphasis on this fact.⁴⁶ For example, I Cor. 15:22, "For as in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive," is clearly written with a corporate meaning in mind. Writing from his Jewish background, Paul is stating that although all men as members of the body of Adam die, nevertheless in the new order of things, in the new Israel, in the Body of Christ, in the new community of relationships between men, and between men and God, man is made alive. "Therefore, if any one is in Christ, he is a new creation."⁴⁷ "For neither is circumcision anything, nor uncircumcision, but a

⁴⁵Taylor, op. cit., pp. 113f.

⁴⁶John Wick Bowman, The Religion of Maturity (Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1948), pp. 284f; John Knox, op. cit., pp. 22f.; Davies, op. cit., pp. 86ff.; Taylor, op. cit., pp. 114ff.; Dodd, op. cit., pp. 87f.; C. A. A. Scott, Christianity According to St. Paul (London: Cambridge University Press, 1932), pp. 151f.

⁴⁷II Cor. 5:17.

new creation."⁴⁸ "For in Christ Jesus you are all sons of GodThere is neither Jew nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus" (Gal. 3:26-28). On the other hand the phrase clearly holds other than a corporate meaning when Paul states (II Cor. 5:19) "God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself." As John Knox has suggested, this statement seems to be an answer to the question, "What was God doing in and through the event of which Jesus was the center?"⁴⁹ Paul's concern seems to be with the purpose of the events which centered about the person of Jesus, although shortly thereafter in verse 21 ("so that in him we might become the righteousness of God"), the concern is again with the identification of the individual into the body of Christ.

There appears to be a great emphasis on the identification of experience with Christ in the formula as it is used in certain passages. Especially is this true where the teaching is concerned with the experience of the Christian in the death and the resurrection of Christ. In the sixth chapter of Romans, for example, such passages as 6:4, "We were buried therefore with him by baptism into death"; 6:5, "For if we have been united with him in a resurrection like his"; 6:8, "But if we have died with Christ, we believe that we shall live with him"; and 6:11, "So

⁴⁸Gal. 6:15.

⁴⁹John Knox, op. cit., p. 22. Perhaps mention should be made of the fact that the phrase "in Christ" belongs to the verb "reconciling" rather than to "was." "God was reconciling the world in Christ."

you also must consider yourselves dead to sin and alive to God in Christ Jesus," show the closeness of experience that lies between the Christian and the Christ. That for which Christ died and for which He suffered on behalf of mankind is the experience of the people of God as concentrated in Him. By virtue of faith the individual enters into these experiences and shares in the rewards. Such additional verses as Rom. 8:17; II Cor. 7:3; Eph. 2:4, 6; Phil. 3:10; Col. 2:12, 13; 3:1; II Tim. 2:11, 12, etc., show that the relationship between the believers and Christ is one

. . .so personal and intimate that the believer enters into, and shares in, the experiences of Christ, His life, suffering, crucifixion, death, burial, resurrection, quickening, glorification, heirship, and kingship.⁵⁰

I have been crucified with Christ; it is no longer I who live, but Christ who lives in me; and the life I now live in the flesh I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me.

This verse (Gal. 2:20), does not imply the loss of personal identity, nor, as Reitzenstein maintains, a double personality,⁵¹ but rather that *ἐν Χριστῷ*, his old life had died, his past ideals, ambitions and pride were all crucified.⁵² His "old man" is dead, and although he still lives in the flesh, by faith he has given his allegiance to a new master.

The essential condition is that the old selfish ego is

⁵⁰Taylor, op. cit., pp. 117f.

⁵¹R. Reitzenstein, Die Hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1927), pp. 84f.

⁵²Davies, op. cit., p. 197.

dethroned, and is replaced by the Christ-self, the personality in which Christ 'lives'. . . . The mysticism, which is described in these words is a 'fellowship-mysticism,' which, far from meaning absorption into the divine, carries with it an enhanced and enriched personality, with increased powers and possibilities.⁵³

There have been numerous attempts to demonstrate that the explanation of the relation of the Christian to Christ is due to the influence of the mystery religions. In these religions the prospect offered is one of deliverance from evil, from corruption and from death.⁵⁴ This deliverance takes place through mystic initiation and rites that impart to the initiate the knowledge or vision of divine things which fix in him the assurance of divine favor and protection here and in the after life. This redemption mediated by vision and knowledge consisted largely of union of the individual with the god of the religion; in other words the initiate no longer was merely a man, but rather was clothed with divinity, a process or union frequently referred to as "deification."⁵⁵ This union with divinity was accomplished materialistically, not ethically, apparently harking back to the fertility or vegetation cults, and in many instances involving very sensuous ceremonies. The god concerned was one who had died and risen again.⁵⁶

⁵³Taylor, op. cit., p. 48.

⁵⁴H. A. A. Kennedy, St. Paul and the Mystery Religions (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1913), pp. 199f.

⁵⁵Loc. cit.

⁵⁶Ibid., pp. 206f.

In spite of several similarities between the mystery religions and Christianity, there are a number of good reasons for rejecting the conclusions reached by those who would suggest that Paul, and ultimately all of Christianity, was greatly influenced by the mystery religions in particular.⁵⁷ This is not to say that the mystery religions are to be completely dismissed as irrelevant to our understanding of Christianity, but rather that the beliefs of the early church, including those of Paul, were arrived at through the central core of Judaism, and that the whole matter stems essentially from the mind and the person of Jesus himself.⁵⁸

A primary objection to accepting the conclusion that Christianity is largely dependent on the mystery religions is that the mystery sources are of a date well after the beginning of Christianity. Furthermore the secretive cloak about the ceremonies leaves us ignorant as to their exact nature so that it is difficult to make any valid critical comparison between the mysteries and Christianity. In addition, as C. A. A. Scott notes, no mention is made of the mystery religions in early Christian writings, save in the Didache and in the works of Ignatius and Justin Martyr,⁵⁹ until the end of the second century.

⁵⁷Davies, op. cit., pp. 89ff.

⁵⁸Alfred Loisy, Hibbert Journal, (October 1911), p. 51; K. Lake, The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul, 2nd edition (London: Rivington, 1919), p. 215; Wilhelm Bousset, Kyrios Christos, 2nd edition (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1921); and R. Reitzenstein, op. cit., pp. 308ff., make a strong case for the importance of the mystery religions.

⁵⁹C. A. A. Scott, op. cit., p. 125.

It is true that Christianity resembles the mysteries at certain points, for both offer the promise of life after death to the members, and both have certain initiatory rites (baptism and the Lord's Supper), of which only the initiate may partake.⁶⁰ Notwithstanding this there are great fundamental differences to be noted.

Christianity is rooted in history. It is concerned with an historical figure, Jesus, and springs from the heart of historic Judaism. The epistles of Paul "depend for the cogency of their arguments and the validity of their conceptions upon the assumption of an historical Figure as a perpetual point of reference."⁶¹ Basically, the "good news" of Christianity rests on the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus, and His teaching. Furthermore union with Christ is not accomplished by a mere celebration of rites, but through faith, as we have noted earlier. "There is nothing corresponding to Pauline faith in the mysteries."⁶² With reference to Paul, W. Manson states, "Hence as often as he elucidates for us the meaning of his mystical phraseology, it is by translating it back into terms of faith."⁶³ In addition the corporate aspect of being "in Christ"

⁶⁰A. E. J. Rawlinson, The New Testament Doctrine of the Christ (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1926), p. 283.

⁶¹C. H. Dodd, History and the Gospel, p. 53.

⁶²Davies, op. cit., p. 91.

⁶³W. Manson, Jesus the Messiah (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1943), pp. 189f. See, for example Gal. 2:20.

has no parallel, for "as far as we know. . .the mysteries were individualistic."⁶⁴

In the Hellenistic Mystery religions the man who received initiation was simply lifted out of the lower sphere individually into the higher sphere: there was so far as we know no common purpose which the society set to achieve in the real world.⁶⁵

It is even unsuccessful to attempt to trace such terms as *γνώσις, μυστήριον, σοφία, σωτηρία* and *τέλειος*⁶⁶ from the language of Paul to the mystery religions. We may well end with the statement of Percy Gardner,

Christianity is in its main features a continuation of Judaism. There is no real parallel to be traced between the vague and fleeting forms of pagan myth and the historic story of the Christian redemption.⁶⁷

While it is possible and indeed likely that traditional or received ideas helped the apostle. . .to self expression, the matter of his gospel must be pronounced independent of extraneous influence, based as it is on Christian historical revelation and on the Christian experience of God.⁶⁸

Paul's great emphasis on the close identification of the Christian with Christ is not due to the influence of the mystery religions but is based on Christian experience.

⁶⁴Davies, op. cit., p. 90.

⁶⁵Edwyn Bevan, The Hellenistic Age (London: Cambridge University Press, 1923), pp. 105f.

⁶⁶Scott, op. cit., pp. 127f., Kennedy, op. cit., pp. 115f.

⁶⁷Percy Gardner, "The Pagan Mysteries," Modern Churchman (October, 1926), p. 318. Earlier reference to the mystery religions was made in Chapter I.

⁶⁸W. Manson, op. cit., p. 190.

The foundation of these experiences, which belong to the very meaning of the believer's life, is faith in, and mystical fellowship with Christ as Redeemer, Saviour, and King. . . . Already, in this present world, he lives with Christ, sustained by the victorious powers of the Age to Come. It is in the same context of thought that the formula 'in Christ' must be understood. When it is used in a mystical sense, it expresses in brief what St. Paul means by dying, rising, and living with Christ; it denotes union with Him in the realities of His saving ministry.⁶⁹

The close union between Christ and the body of Christians is implied in the story of Paul's conversion experience as related in Acts (9:4ff.), where persecution of the community is represented as persecution of Jesus. It is also strongly stressed in Rom. 12:3ff. where it is pointed out that, no matter what one's talents are, they are to be seen and regarded from the whole of the body of Christ and not from the individualistic viewpoint. Again, in I Cor. 12:12f. the close identification of Christ with the members of the body is expressed. Here Paul maintains that even the weaker members of the body are indispensable (I Cor. 12:14ff.), and that the welfare of one member has its affect on the welfare of all. "If one member suffers, all suffer together; if one member is honored, all rejoice together." (I Cor. 12:26)

"But Paul's conception of the Body of Christ implies that the Church is the special representative of her living Lord upon the earth."⁷⁰ Even as it is said that "For in him

⁶⁹ ⁷⁰ Taylor, op. cit., p. 119.

⁷⁰ ⁷¹ H. A. A. Kennedy, The Theology of the Epistles (London: Duckworth, 1919), pp. 149f.

all the fullness of God was pleased to dwell, and through him to reconcile to himself all things, whether on earth or in heaven," (Col. 1:19f); so also is the Church seen to be the fullness of Christ in the world. This is basic to the metaphor of the Church as the Body of Christ and to Christ as the Head of the Church, for the Church was not only established by the activity of Jesus in calling the disciples, but is to be regarded as the continuation of Christ's activity on earth. In Phil. 1:29 it is noted that the Christian not only believes in Christ but also suffers for Him. Paul states that his sufferings are for the sake of "his body, that is, the church" (Col. 1:24) (II Cor. 1:5-6) (Eph. 5:25). In view of this and of the fact that the sufferings are to result in glorification with Him (Rom. 8:17),

We have thus, an integral part of the Apostle's thought, the conception of the Church as a living organism reproducing and continuing in its own life the sufferings and the exaltation of its Head.⁷¹

It is "through the Church the manifold wisdom of God might now be made known to the powers and principalities in the heavenly places" (Eph. 3:10). "To be sure, he rules over the Church, for he is also its head, but in such a way that the Church, in so far as he takes form in it (Gal. 4:19), likewise rules with him (II Tim. 2:12)"⁷² This is brought out particularly in Ephesians and Colossians; for whereas in I Corinthians and in

⁷¹T. W. Manson, The Teaching of Jesus, 2nd edition (London: Cambridge University Press, 1935), p. 233.

⁷²Cullmann, op. cit., p. 187.

Romans Christ is portrayed as the whole body of which Christians are members in particular, in Eph. 1:22, 5:23ff., Col. 1:18, 2:19, Christ is the head, suggesting the absolute dependence of the body on the head.

The way had been prepared for such a usage by the Hebrew idiom of using the head (like the body) as representative of the whole personality: 'Your blood be upon your heads.' (Josh. 2:19, I Sam. 1:16, Acts 18:6); cf. the proverb that kindness to an enemy heaps coals of fire on his head (Prov. 25:22, Rom. 12:20). . . .⁷³

The most direct lesson to be derived from the metaphor as it is employed in Ephesians and Colossians is that Christ is the Lord of the Church. Ephesians 1:21 exults in the thought of the dominion of the ascended Christ. Far above all principality and power He reigns, Lord not only of this world but of that which is to come. He it is who is Head of the Church, its ruler and guide, and in all things the Church must be subject to Him. Nowhere is the cosmic supremacy of the ascended Lord more dramatically set forth.⁷⁴

The metaphor of the Church as the bride and Christ as the bridegroom gives additional insight into the primitive Christian's understanding of the Church. Judaism was familiar with the thought of the Jewish nation as the bride and God as the bridegroom. The Prophet Hosea selected his own marital experience with the unfaithful Gomer to portray the manner in which unfaithful Israel has been untrue to Jehovah.⁷⁵ It is used to

⁷³F. J. Taylor, "Body," in A Theological Word Book (Richardson, editor), p. 35. See also R. H. Fuller in the article "Church" on pp. 46ff. of the same work.

⁷⁴F. W. Dillistone, The Structure of the Divine Society (London: Lutterworth Press), p. 68. See Chapter VI concerning the cosmic aspects of Jesus' Lordship.

⁷⁵Whether this represents the actual experience of Hosea or is a parable without historical basis does not matter in so far as our point is concerned.

portray vividly the special covenantal relationship between God and His people (Ex. 19:5). Israel is described as God's bride in Ex. 34:15, Deut. 31:16, Ps. 73:27, Isa. 54:5, Jer. 3:14, and Ezek. 16. In the opinion of some the Song of Songs was given an allegorical interpretation.⁷⁶ God's love is given a position of prominence by this manner of speaking, in spite of the adultery of Israel, and the mutual knowledge between God and His people is clearly portrayed in this intimate relation of man and woman.

Certainly Christ's sovereignty may be seen to lie behind this choice of metaphor.⁷⁷ The carrying over into the New Testament of this conception for portraying the relation of Christ to His church would affirm the suggestions that we have brought in other instances: namely, the position of headship of Christ over the Church, the close communion between the two, and the belief that the Church represented the true Israel. It is used by Paul in Eph. 5:23ff. and II Cor. 11:2 to express the relation of Christ and the Church, where in the former instance he uses it to picture the real unity between Christ and the Church, and the headship of Christ, ("For the husband is the head of the wife as Christ is the head of the Church, his body, and is himself its Savior." Eph. 5:23), and in the latter instance the

⁷⁶Hoskyns, op. cit., p. 229, referring to A. Schlatter, Der Evangelist Johannes, XX (1930).

⁷⁷W. P. Paterson, "Marriage," Hastings Bible Dictionary (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1900), III, 276.

Church is the "pure bride."

Quite possibly this usage goes back to Jesus Himself.

In Mk. 2:18-20 He is represented as the Bridegroom, and in the Parable of the Great Feast (Matt. 22:1-10, Lk. 14:15-24) and the Parable of the Foolish Virgins (Matt. 25:1-13) and in John 3:29, there is the same suggestion. The metaphor is frequently used in the Book of Revelation, as in 19:7; 21:2, 9; 22:17, in which it appears to refer to the ideal Church, the heavenly Jerusalem, although in 22:17 it is used to refer to the church on earth waiting for her Lord to return. Quite evidently this metaphor lends itself readily to a proclamation of the Lordship of Christ over the Church. In the words of Dillistone,

Christ's intimate relation of love to His Church, His solicitude for its beauty and holiness, the Church's duty of responding in reverent subjection to her Lord--these are the deductions drawn from the Church's status as the Bride of Christ. . . .It is, in fact, within the family circle that the most adequate picture of the Church of Christ is to be found. . . .Because the Church stands to Christ as a Temple to its foundation, as a Body to its head, as a Bride to her husband, therefore, the inference is drawn, not that the Church's nature is of a particular kind, not that its structure is of a particular pattern, but rather that its duty is to behave in a particular way, its privilege to receive the grace which will enable it to fulfill its particular destiny in the high calling of God in Christ Jesus its Lord.⁷⁸

Recognition of Christ's Lordship is implicit to membership in the Community.⁷⁹

⁷⁸Dillistone, op. cit., p. 69.

⁷⁹John Knox, op. cit., p. 3, and Floyd V. Filson, The New Testament Against Its Environment (London: Student Christian Movement, 1950), p. 77.

The primitive church, for all its debt to the memory of Jesus, actually sprang out of the knowledge of him as alive after his passion. . . . The primitive Christian community was not a memorial society with its eyes fastened on a departed master; it was a dynamic community created around a living and present Lord.⁸⁰

It is indeed arguable that the Church began with the history of the nation Israel, and, also, it is our belief that Jesus called about Himself a group, and fully intended to establish a society which was to be identified with His person. However, the Resurrection represents a central point in the existence of the Church, for from that time forward the body realized the solidarity of the group under the head of Christ.

This is seen in the primitive confession of faith, "Jesus Christ is Lord."

The need to confess one's faith according to a fixed text manifested itself in every gathering of the community. The believer wants to confess with the brethren before God what unites them with Him. It was already so in the worship of the synagogue, where one, in pronouncing the Shema, confessed with all Israel that Yahweh is one.⁸¹

Although Cullmann demonstrates that this confession was used in exorcism, during times of persecution, and as a polemic against heresies,⁸² it certainly took prominence in worship from an early time, and represents "that utterance which goes back to Ps. 110: 'Christ sits at the right hand of God.'"⁸³

⁸⁰John Knox, Christ the Lord, p. 60.

⁸¹Oscar Cullmann, The Earliest Christian Confessions, translated by J. K. S. Reid (London: Lutterworth Press, 1949), pp. 21-22.

⁸²Ibid., pp. 23ff.

⁸³Cullmann, Christ and Time, p. 153.

This confession has a meaning which is not restricted to "Lordship over the Church," but is seen in many instances to have extended over the whole of Creation. Although its

. . . primary reference is to the present, it expresses at the same time Christ's universal Lordship, for *Kryios*, interpreted on the basis of the Hebrew *Adonai* (Lord) as well as on the basis of the Hellenistic usage of the Greek word, includes a radical totalitarian claim.⁸⁴

The further development of this usage we will take up in the chapter following.

In chapter II we noted that the confession "Jesus is Lord," or its equivalent, runs through the entire strata of the New Testament, and that there is no particular point where the faith of the early Christians could be expressed in terms less significant than these, observing that there is good reason to believe it to represent an expression of the Resurrection faith.

The devotion of the early Christian community to Jesus is seen in the many references to usage of His name in connection with baptism, exorcism, etc. The ancient formula in Phil. 2:9-11; Rom. 10:9; I Cor. 6:11 ("But you were washed, you were consecrated, you were justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ"), and in I Cor. 1:10ff. where Paul appeals "by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ" for the unity of the Church, are excellent examples of this custom. The use of the "name" is to be seen also in Acts, as 2:38, 8:16, 19:5 where it is

⁸⁴Ibid., p. 177.

indicated that converts were baptized in "the name." Peter is reported to have healed "in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth" (3:6); "and every day in the temple and at home they did not cease διδάσκοντες καὶ εὐαγγελιζόμενοι τὸν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν "; and Stephen is reported to have prayed, "Lord Jesus receive my spirit," (7:59), indicating, at least in this case, prayer to Him. Again in 9:14 Saul of Tarsus apparently had authority to bind all who call upon the name of the Lord. Mk. 9:38-40 (Lk. 9:49f.) mentions someone casting out "devils in thy name."⁸⁵ Matt. 7:21ff. suggests that calling on the name of Jesus is not a guarantee for entrance into the Kingdom of heaven, although the implication seems to be that there is great efficacy in the use of the name. In Lk. 20:17ff. the seventy rejoice for the demons "are subject to us in your name." In John we read "But to all who received him, who believed in his name, he gave power to become children of God" (Jn. 1:12), and in 20:31, "but these are written that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing you may have life in his name."

The Church. . . was no longer a body of preachers exhorting men to repent in expectation of the coming salvation

⁸⁵Vincent Taylor, The Formation of the Gospel Tradition, p. 68. Taylor agrees with Bultmann that this "is surely a Pronouncement-Story." A. E. J. Rawlinson, The Gospel According to St. Mark, 7th edition (London: Methuen and Company, 1946), pp. 128f.; considers it genuine, although others, as Loisy, Les Evangiles Synoptiques (Haute Marne: Geffonds, 1907), II, 74, and C. G. Montefiore, The Synoptic Gospels (London: MacMillan and Company, Ltd., 1909), I, 228ff., hold that it is of later origin.

through the power of the Name of Jesus. Within this society petitions to God are answered, if made in the Name of Jesus, and the essential and sole means of entry to this society is Baptism, which conveys the Spirit and effects a miraculous change in the nature of those who undergo it.⁸⁶

To 'believe in the name' of Jesus is to believe in, and to accept His claims, as substantiated in the story of His life on earth, and in the experience of the Church and of individuals. To have 'life in His name' is to come into a real and living relationship with Him, to 'abide in Him,' as is the more frequent phrase in the Johannine writings. The aim of the Evangelist is to bring his readers into the same fellowship with God that he himself enjoys.⁸⁷

"Therefore, holy brethren, who share in a heavenly call,

κατανοήσατε τὸν ὑπόστολον καὶ ἀρχιερέα τῆς ὁμολογίας ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν " (Heb. 3:1). Jesus is the center of the con-

fession. Again in verse three Jesus is the builder of a house (God's house), and in verse six, "we are his house if we hold fast our confidence and pride in our hope."

Certainly the fact that in Hebrews Jesus is represented to us as our High-Priest (ii.17, iii.1, iv.14-16), before [italics in original] there has been any theological explanation or elaboration of the idea by the writer (chapters vii.-x.), suggests that this office of Jesus belongs to the a priori [italics in original] element; the charter-substance of the received Christian faith.⁸⁸

Indeed, the Church saw itself as directly under the Lordship of Christ, but that Lordship was mediated through His spirit, for the "medium of communication to the church of the

⁸⁶Jackson and Lake, op. cit., V, p. 133.

⁸⁷R. H. Strachan, The Fourth Gospel, 2nd edition (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1941), p. 40.

⁸⁸W. Manson, The Epistle to the Hebrews, p. 54.

mind of Christ"⁸⁹ is the Spirit. *Καὶ οὐδεὶς δύναται εἰπεῖν, κύριος Ἰησοῦς, εἰ μὴ ἐν πνεύματι Ἁγίῳ*, states Paul in I Cor. 12:3. As by faith the Church came to see that Jesus was the Son of God, so indeed by faith she became aware that He lives and guides her through the Spirit. Actually to have the Spirit meant membership in the Church, and became "the hallmark of a Christian."⁹⁰ In the case of Paul, his source of power in the Spirit lies behind his speech and message (I Cor. 2:4), "and I think that I have the Spirit of God" (I Cor. 7:40); and it is "the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus that has set me free from the law of sin and death" (Rom. 8:2).

More noticeable is his emphasis on the Spirit as the source of Christian fellowship and unity. . . for Paul the Spirit is not only the life of the new man but of the New Israel, the Church. The latter is the Body of Christ, and is animated by the Spirit: the solidarity of all Christians with one another and with their Lord, through the one Spirit, is such that Christians as a Body no less than as individuals constitute a temple of the Holy Spirit.⁹¹

It is thus that Paul points out the variety of gifts from the Spirit (I Cor. 12:4ff.), gifts not given for individual gratification but for the strengthening and purpose of the whole Body of Christ (I Cor. 12:14ff.). According to the Gospel tradition it was the belief of the Church that Christ had sent the Spirit, or would "baptize you with the Holy Spirit" (Mk. 1:8; also Lk. 3:16, Matt. 3:11(Q)). There is reason to believe,

⁸⁹Bowman, op. cit., p. 283.

⁹⁰Jackson and Lake, op. cit., I, 327.

⁹¹Davies, op. cit., p. 201, I Cor. 12:13; 13:16f.

however, that this represents a primitive Christian addition attempting to explain "that while Jesus sanctioned Christian baptism, in His lifetime He baptized only through His disciples."⁹² In Mark Jesus Himself is inspired by the Holy Spirit, and He promises that His disciples will have the same gift in times of stress, and the other Synoptic gospels do not noticeably differ from this point of view.⁹³ The Gospel according

⁹²Strachan, op. cit., p. 147.

⁹³Jackson and Lake, op. cit., V, 110. Jesus is reported to have promised the guidance of the Spirit during times of trial in both Mark (13:11) and Q(Mt. 10:20, Lk. 12:12). He elsewhere makes it clear that the blasphemy which is really deadly is that which is against the Holy Spirit, Mk. (3:28-30); Q(Mt. 12:32, Lk. 12:10). It was the Spirit which took possession of Jesus at his baptism, and in Lk. 4:18 it is reported that he read from Isaiah, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me."

It is furthermore to be mentioned that the works of Jesus were evidence of the presence of the Spirit in him.

All exorcistic and medical (better, therapeutic) works of Jesus are thereby shown to be deeds of power willed by the spirit (as karamath by baraka).

According to the tradition Jesus transferred the prophetic (more correctly charismatic) power and *ἐξουσία* to his disciples (they pass over in a charismatic milieu, from the master to the successor, as from Elijah to Elisha, and in such a milieu, to attain and receive them by transference is part of the meaning and aim of the *akolouthia*, which is first and essentially always something quite different from a mere relationship between pupil and teacher).

When the disciples ascribed an *ἐξουσία* to him, they meant that he had a spirit (p. 229).

But in that case we cannot avoid the conclusion that Jesus himself traced the powers, abilities, and authorities in him back to the spirit working in him. (To be sure; and if that is true, it is entirely arbitrary to assume that the interpretation of Is. lxi.1 as referring to the charismatic activity of Christ was due to the later theology of the church. Jesus could not avoid seeing himself described in this verse).

That Jesus ascribed his deeds to a numinous power, and

to John speaks of the gift of the Spirit as a gift from the Risen Christ on Resurrection day (Jn. 20:19ff.). In one of Peter's sermons appearing in Acts (2:33), he relates concerning Jesus, "ἔχετε τούτο ὃ ὑμεῖς βλέπετε καὶ ἀκούετε," where τούτο seems to refer to "τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος." Again in 5:32, in another early sermon, it is said, "And we are witnesses to these things; and so is the Holy Spirit whom God has given to those who obey him." Evidently the Spirit has an essential place in the earliest Christian preaching.⁹⁴ At the heart of the preaching message was a true story about Jesus, the Christ of Israel and the Lord of All (Acts 2:36; Phil. 2:11); and He had been anointed for His office by the Spirit of God (Acts 4:26f.; 10:38; cf. Lk. 1:35; Jn. 1:32; Rom. 1:1ff.).⁹⁵

that this power, the Holy Spirit, was present in his person, can be regarded as good tradition. Rudolf Otto, The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man, 2nd edition, translated by Floyd V. Filson and Bertram Lee-Woolf (London: Lutterworth Press, 1943), quotes H. Windisch, "Jesus und der Geist" in Studies in Early Christianity (S. J. Case, editor, New York, 1923), p. 380. Finally there is the statement, "Behold, I send the promise of my Father upon you; but stay in the city, until you are clothed with power from on high." (Lk. 24:49L).

⁹⁴C. H. Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching and Its Developments (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1944), pp. 22f. brings out this point.

⁹⁵Ibid., p. 57. Dodd states, We have seen that the apostolic preaching according to Acts 11 included an appeal to the presence and work of the Holy Spirit in the Church as evidence that the age of fulfillment had dawned, and that Jesus Christ was its Lord. 'This is that which was spoken by the prophet. . . I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh. . . He being exalted at the right hand of God, and having received the promise of the Holy

Davies has demonstrated that the background of the Pauline teaching on the communal aspect relating to the Holy Spirit lies in the Old Testament and Judaistic antecedents.⁹⁶ States I. F. Wood, "The personal experiences of the private Hebrew are not ascribed to the Spirit of God but only those who bear directly or indirectly for good or ill upon the progress of national matters."⁹⁷

In ancient times the Spirit of God is imparted to certain individuals and was regarded as the instrument by which God worked. Through it He influenced and controlled the heroic figures of the Old Testament. It was, for instance, when the Spirit of the Lord came upon Jephthah that he attacked the children of Ammon (Jud. 11:29), and it was when the Spirit of the Lord came upon Samson that he killed a thousand men with the jawbone of an ass (Jud. 15:14ff.).

Also in the Old Testament superhuman strength, courage, skill, judgment, wisdom, and similar qualities are attributed to "the spirit of God," or of "the spirit of the Lord," which comes upon a man and possesses him. "In old narratives it is more common of physical power and prowess and the gift of

Spirit from the Father, has poured that which you see and hear'; and it includes also an assurance that those who join the Christ and community 'receive the gift of the Holy Spirit.'

⁹⁶Davies, op. cit., pp. 202ff.

⁹⁷I. F. Wood, The Spirit of God in Biblical Literature (London: A. C. Armstrong and Son, 1904), pp. 9f.

leadership;⁹⁸ in the prophets⁹⁹ it is occasionally used of prophetic inspiration."¹⁰⁰ Gunkel concludes that the communal aspect of the Spirit according to Paul is at variance with that of Israel and later Judaism, where the Spirit is imparted to certain individuals.¹⁰¹ Nevertheless,

. . . even in its earliest forms it is clear that the Spirit in the Old Testament has a national reference. . . . Moreover, prophecy, itself the activity of the Spirit par excellence, is directed always not to the individual but to the nation as a whole; the appeal of the prophets is invariably to the 'House of Israel.'¹⁰²

It is in the prophet Ezekiel, however, that the communal aspect of the Spirit's activity appears most clearly.

Thus saith the Lord God; Behold, I will open your graves, and raise you from your graves, O my people. . . . And you shall know that I am the Lord. . . . And I will put my Spirit within you, and you shall live, and I will place you in your own land: then you shall know that I, the Lord, have spoken, and I have done it, says the Lord.¹⁰³

It is noteworthy that we read in Joel 2:28ff., "And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh;. . .". A significant mark of the corporate figure, the

⁹⁸Num. 11:11f.; Jud. 6:34; 11:29; 13:25; 14:6, 19; 15:14; I Sam. 11:6; 16:3; etc.; Ex. 31:3; 36:1; I Sam. 10:10; II Sam. 23:2, etc.

⁹⁹E.g. Ezek. 3:24.

¹⁰⁰George Foot Moore, Judaism (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927), I, 421.

¹⁰¹Gunkel, Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1888), p. 29.

¹⁰²Davies, op. cit., p. 203. Amos 3:1; 4:1; 5:1; Hos. 4:1; 5:1; 14:1; Isa. 1:4.

¹⁰³Ezek. 37:12-14.

Suffering Servant of Isaiah, is that "I have put my Spirit upon him."¹⁰⁴

Now this is not to maintain that every reference to the Spirit in the Old Testament has necessarily a communal meaning, for such is far from the case; but rather that the corporate significance of the Spirit is to be discovered in the Old Testament. The same is true of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha where "we can only trace the 'national' significance of the Spirit in that it will be plenteously bestowed upon the Messianic ruler of the nation."¹⁰⁵ In the Psalms of Solomon we read (17:37) "For God will make him mighty by means of (His) holy spirit, and wise by means of the Spirit of understanding," with regard to the king; and in the Book of Enoch 62:2 we read concerning the Elect One, "And the Lord of Spirits seated him on the throne of His glory, and the Spirit of righteousness was poured out upon him."

There is evidence in the Rabbinic writings that the Holy Spirit needed or rather functioned within a community. As Moore has pointed out,¹⁰⁶ although one person was worthy that the Holy Spirit should rest upon him, because the others of his generation were not worthy, the Spirit would not rest with him. A mysterious voice said before a gathering of the learned in the

¹⁰⁴Is. 42:1.

¹⁰⁵Davies, op. cit., p. 205.

¹⁰⁶Moore, op. cit., I, 422.

house of Gorion in Jericho, "There is here a man who is worthy that the holy spirit should rest upon him, but that his generation is not worthy."¹⁰⁷ Evidently the elder Hillel was the worthy one, and at another time Samuel the Little was the one worthy of the Holy Spirit, although, because of the unworthiness of their generations, they received it not. In the *sifre* on Deut. 18:12, Rabbi Eliezer asks, "Why is the Holy Spirit so little in evidence in Israel?, . . . But your iniquities have separated between you and your God."¹⁰⁸ The sinful nation was no fitting place for the Holy Spirit. According to some Rabbis, outside Palestine the Holy Spirit could be experienced only on the seas, because Palestine alone was sanctified. This view was held by some Rabbis who cited in support of it Ezek. 1:3. According to other Rabbis, although God revealed Himself everywhere, it was only in Palestine that the Holy Spirit remained constantly.¹⁰⁹ Further, the activity of the Holy Spirit was still more closely limited to Jerusalem "Because all the tribal patriarchs were

¹⁰⁷Tosetta Sotah 13:3f., Sotah 48b, Sanh 11a; (copied from Moore, *Loc. cit.*). It is worthwhile noting that another tradition states that then particular Rabbis received the Spirit and, although it seems likely that this represents a later interpretation of the other view, the authorities are not agreed as to which is the original view. See Strack-Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, I, 216, 557, also F. Büchsel, *Der Geist Gottes im Neuen Testament* (Gütersloh, 1926), p. 124.

¹⁰⁸Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

¹⁰⁹cf. Targum Jonathon on Ezek. 1:3.

born on foreign soil while Benjamin was born in the land of Israel.¹¹⁰

. . . It will be seen in the light of this that the geographical limitation of the activity of the Holy Spirit is bound up with its communal character, it comes to a community and therefore to the abode of that community.¹¹¹

The verses in Ezekiel, Joel, and Isaiah to which we referred above, demonstrate the expectation of the coming of the Holy Spirit in connection with the future hopes of the Israelites.¹¹² Furthermore, as Abrahams has pointed out by quoting a Midrash in connection with Num. 11:17:

The Holy One, blessed be He, said: In this world individuals were given prophetic power, but in the world to come all Israel will be made prophets, as it is said (Joel ii.28): And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and daughters shall prophesy, your young men shall see visions: and also upon the servants and the handmaids in those days will I pour my spirit. Thus did R. Tanhuma, son of R. Abba, expound.¹¹³

We may say with Strachan that "the gift of the Spirit belonged to

¹¹⁰Mekilta Bahadesh, p. 4.

¹¹¹Davies, op. cit., pp. 206f.

¹¹²In Isa. 11:2, concerning the Messiah, it is said, "And the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord." In the Book of Enoch 49:3 concerning the Elect One we read, "And in him dwells the spirit of wisdom and the spirit which gives insight, and the spirit of understanding and might, and the spirit of those who have fallen asleep in righteousness."

¹¹³Israel Abrahams, Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels, Second Series (London: Cambridge University Press, 1924), p. 127.

the future age, when the Kingdom of God comes."¹¹⁴ The early Christians were confident that the new age had come, for they saw the evidence of this in the fulfillment of the Old Testament promise concerning the Messianic age, the time when the Spirit was poured forth.¹¹⁵

Closely related to this, and arousing much discussion, is the question as to whether or not the identification between the Spirit and the Lord of the Church was absolute in the minds of the early Christians. J. Weiss in Das Urchristentum¹¹⁶ maintains that the two are identified in Pauline thought. To bolster such an argument, frequent reference is made to II Cor. 3:17 and I Cor. 15:45. Now, undoubtedly, there is a very close identification in the thinking of Paul and other of the New Testament writers, yet it is not an absolute identification. For example, in Rom. 8:9ff. we read, "if you are in the Spirit, if the Spirit of God really dwells in you. . .who does not have the Spirit of Christ. . .the Spirit of him who raised Jesus from the dead dwells in you. . .," displaying a remarkable variety of comments concerning the Spirit. Again, in Gal. 4:6 we read, "God has

¹¹⁴Strachan, op. cit., p. 137.

¹¹⁵Joel 2:28-32; Ezek. 37:12-14; Isa. 11; Ps. of Sol. 17-18.

¹¹⁶J. Weiss, Das Urchristentum, p. 356, Jackson and Lake, op. cit., V, 106f. is also of this opinion. With regard to II Cor. 3:17, R. H. Strachan, "II Corinthians," Moffatt Commentary (New York: Harper, 1935); p. 88, believes that here Christ and the Spirit are identified. So also does Dodd, op. cit., p. 62, as well as John Knox, op. cit., p. 66.

sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts." In Col. 3:4 we find "when Christ who is our life appears;" in Gal. 6:8, "He who sows to the Spirit will from the Spirit reap eternal life;" in Rom. 8:2, "For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus has set me free;" and in verse 10, "But if Christ is in you. . . your spirits are alive because of righteousness," indicating that Christ and the Spirit may be said to be the life of the believer. Paul may speak in Rom. 8:27 of the "mind of the Spirit," but in I Cor. 2:16 he states, "But we have the mind of Christ." The Church was looked on as the "Body of Christ" and also as the community of the Spirit.

In view of the above it is not too surprising to read (II Cor. 3:17) "Now the Lord is the Spirit." However, observing the verses which precede, we note that Paul apparently is contrasting the "dispensation of death" (vs. 7) with the "dispensation of the Spirit." (vs. 8); the former being summed up in Moses who represents the legal system, and the latter in Christ.¹¹⁷ In other words, it does not appear to be an absolute identification, but rather a representation. Again, I Cor. 15:45, "The first man Adam became a living being; the last Adam became a life-giving Spirit," is hardly an absolute identification of Christ with the Spirit. The point seems rather that just as the first Adam introduced a new order of life in the physical or earthly sense, so the second Adam introduced a new

¹¹⁷George Barker Stevens, The Theology of the New Testament (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1899), p. 443.

life in the Spirit.

Plainly Paul thinks of the Christian as living and moving and having his being in a *πνεῦμα* element which is the very breath of life. Just as it might be said that the human body is in the atmosphere which surrounds it on every side, and yet that atmosphere is also within it, filling it and vitalizing it, so it may be said of the Christian soul that it both exists in the Spirit and has the Spirit within it. . . . Christ is the redeemed man's new environment.¹¹⁸

Perhaps Filson suggests the right clue to the reason why the identification was not made complete by drawing attention to the fact that the historical Jesus was too vivid in the memories of the Christians. "He who ministered, died, and rose, continues to live, and his continuing life is so tied to his earthly career that he cannot be taken as identical with the Holy Spirit."¹¹⁹ The Spirit, as it were, actualizes in the hearts of those who believe, whereas Christ is regarded as being "seated on the right hand of God," save in so far as He is operative in the Church through the Spirit.

On the other hand, to separate the two is impossible. The Holy Spirit is certainly not to be separated from the community who looked upon Jesus as Lord. As W. Manson has stated with regard to Acts 19:1-7,

The reason why these disciples had not heard of the Holy Spirit was, as the intervention of St. Paul makes clearly evident, because the Holy Spirit in Christian belief was never disassociated from the confession of Jesus as the Messiah and from baptism in his name.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸James S. Stewart, A Man in Christ (New York: Harper, 1935), p. 157.

¹¹⁹Filson, op. cit., p. 73.

¹²⁰W. Manson, Jesus the Messiah, p. 4.

Christ lives again and is present by His Spirit in His church--such has been the content of the Church's resurrection faith dating from the event. It is in this way that she has from the first explained "the resurrection 'appearance' (I Cor. 15:1ff.; cf. II Cor. 3:17-18), the experience of Pentecost (Acts 2:17ff.), and the charismatic 'gifts' of God to His church (I Cor. 12:4ff.)."¹²¹ The coming of the Spirit to the Church is equivalent to the return of Christ as an unseen and an abiding presence.

On earth he had been manifested as a human individual, hedged about by physical necessities, absent from these followers that He might be with those. And before 'I am glad for your sakes that I was not there' could pass into 'Lo, I am with you alway,' a vast transformation in His mode of existence must occur. It was death and resurrection which formed the transition-point and installed Him in a new order of conditions, through which He became the indwelling life of His Church.¹²²

The reality of Christ's nature was Spirit. Jesus was installed or constituted Son of God with full powers by the resurrection, "which revealed and realized his true nature as life-giving Spirit. His life in the flesh had limited him. It was a phase of being which could not do justice to him."¹²³ Thus, only after the resurrection could the Spirit of Christ, or Christ as Spirit, be shed forth as a widespread, actual experience. The work and purpose of the Spirit is seen to consist of an extension of the work of Jesus (I Cor. 12:3). This is

¹²¹Bowman, op. cit., p. 283.

¹²²H. R. Mackintosh, The Doctrine of the Person of Jesus Christ, 2nd edition (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1914), pp. 375f.

¹²³Moffatt, Paul and Paulinism, pp. 37f.

made clear especially in the Gospel according to John (16:13ff.).

When the Spirit of truth comes, he will guide you into all the truth; for he will not speak of his own authority, but whatever he hears he will speak, and he will declare to you the things that are to come. He will glorify me, for he will take what is mine and declare it to you. All that the Father has is mine; therefore I said that he will take what is mine and declare it to you.¹²⁴

"The Spirit of truth is the direct activity of God in revealing Himself to the believer." The Paraclete or Counselor, it is said, will bring to remembrance all that Jesus has spoken (14:26); he will bear witness to Jesus (15:26).

What the Fourth Gospel thus dramatically indicates, however, is the general position of the New Testament; the Spirit's work is consistent with and a continuation of the work of Jesus.

The Incarnation of God in Christ made a permanent difference in man's knowledge of God, and we know God now as the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Yet our knowledge of God is not just the same as His. Ours is dependent on His. And not dependent merely as a pupil depends on his teacher. Nor again in the sense that our knowledge of God is as second hand. For the Holy Spirit who came from Pentecost onwards showed the disciples the real meaning of what Christ had been and said, and thus led them into the new knowledge of God for themselves, does the like for us. Or, to put it otherwise, the God who was incarnate in Christ dwells in us through the Holy Spirit; and that is the secret of the Christian life.¹²⁵

It is, then, by the medium of the Spirit of Christ that the latter becomes to the individual Christian 'righteousness and consecration and redemption' (I Cor. 1:30). . . . If to be 'in the church' = to be 'in the spirit' = to be 'in Christ' is a series of equations which represent a mere

¹²⁴Strachan, op. cit., p. 295.

¹²⁵D. M. Baillie, God Was in Christ (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948), p. 154.

mouthings of words and nothing more, then, of course, the doctrine of justification is an unethical farce. . . . If contrariwise, the prophets are right and one may say with the great Augustine 'Extra ecclesiam nulla salus' for the reason that the church in time is God's real church.¹²⁶

To have the Spirit of Christ is to be justified along with the Church, because, as we have seen, Jesus accomplished in time the justification at once of God and man by the life of perfect righteousness which He lived. The Christian Church by her faith in the living Spirit of Jesus has been converted into a community of witnesses (Acts 1:8; 2:16ff.) to Jesus and to His meaning for human life. All the Lord's people receive the illumination by the Spirit (II Cor. 4:4ff.; Eph. 1:18; Heb. 6:4) which enables them to apprehend divine truth and to know the "way" in which they should walk.

Under the guidance of the Spirit the Christian community sees itself as the redemptive community. The community's

¹²⁶Bowman, *op. cit.*, pp. 284ff.

'Then the result is a greater continuity between Jesus and the (later) church. The church was filled with the spirit in the same way as the historic Jesus, its founder, had been a pneumatic. Apostolic Christianity is (therefore) an interpretation--influenced by a speculation and myth--which received its first impulse from Jesus' own consciousness.' This is the thesis which I have captioned for thirty years in opposition to those who would tear Jesus away from his church. . . . The continuity, however, is ultimately this, that the spirit is identical with the eschatological order itself as dynamos working in advance; and this is the very mysterion which Jesus proclaimed, felt, and knew to be working in himself, viz. the kingdom.

Rudolf Otto, *op. cit.*, p. 381, quotes H. Windisch in his article "Jesus und der Geist" in *Studies in Early Christianity* (S. J. Case, editor), New York, 1923, p. 229.

watchword becomes, "Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father who is in heaven."¹²⁷ The community does not glorify itself in living its life and in performing "good works" for the reason that, by virtue of being the divine act, its works are not its own but those of the Divine Creator. The Christian community is conscious at all times of the truth that "we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus for good works, which God prepared beforehand, that we should walk in them" (Eph. 2:10).¹²⁸

"You shall be witnesses," says the risen Christ; and men can only witness to what they have experienced. The Church's witness, accordingly, is the record of the Church's experience of Jesus. And that experience has taught her that Jesus is her Lord.

He is the Lord of the church's conscience, of the church's mind, of the church's passion, of the church's will, of the church's morality, of the church's religion, of the church's life in the world of human affairs.¹²⁹

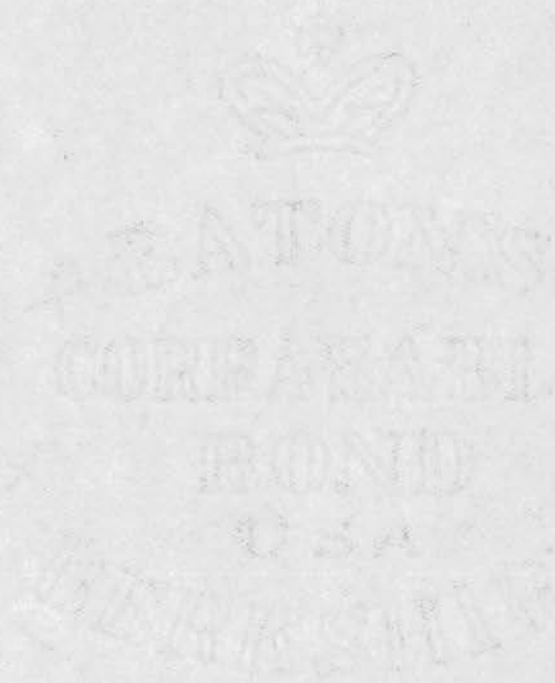
Indeed, it is the church that bears witness to the fact that Christ is Lord and serves to proclaim that fact to the outer world. "For although there may be so-called gods in heaven or on earth. . .yet for us there is one God,. . .and one Lord Jesus Christ." (I Cor. 8:5-6) The church is heart and soul of Jesus' Lordship, for here He is so recognized and experienced. Yet the

¹²⁷Matt. 5:16.

¹²⁸Bowman, op. cit., p. 273.

¹²⁹Bowman, op. cit., p. 275.

fact is He is not only Lord of the church, but also there is no place in all of creation of which He is not Lord. It is this aspect of Jesus' Lordship which will be examined in the final chapter.



CHAPTER VI

THE COMPLETE LORDSHIP OF CHRIST

With keen insight A. D. Galloway sets forth what he has described as

. . . a principle of development which was to determine the whole growth of Jewish and early Christian eschatology. This principle is: Once a community has accepted a redemptive faith, the impact of their environment upon them forces them either to narrow this concept of redemption by giving it an other-worldly interpretation, or to widen its reference so as to include the whole of their environment.¹

Such appears to have been the experience of the early Church, for, to the minds of the first believers, the Messiah's work for man was of cosmological significance. The result of Christ's death and resurrection is that Lordship over all things is committed to Him. "The entire creation is affected by this redemptive event. Ever since the ascension Christ sits at the right hand of God and everything is put under his feet."² The 110th Psalm in referring to Jesus speaks of a faith that was not concerned with anything less than a "lordship" over the whole creation. It will be the purpose of this chapter to examine the background of this cosmic reference in Judaism and elsewhere,

¹Allan D. Galloway, The Cosmic Christ (London: Nisbet and Company, 1951), pp. 9ff., 48f., 232.

²Oscar Cullmann, Christ and Time, translated by Floyd V. Filson (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1951), p. 185.

and to indicate its appearance in the New Testament writings, pointing to the significance of such a faith.

From the point of religious experience, it is evident that the confession "Jesus is Lord" involves an absolute claim on the confessor which is not to be compromised, for it is only as the individual recognizes the absoluteness of the claim that he is able to make this confession.

When Paul speaks of Christ as the agent of creation, the modern equivalent is the conviction that the universe in which we live is a Christian universe; that it is not a blind mechanism, but that its purpose and goal are expressed in the person and work of Jesus Christ; that the universe is in the end our ally, and that the world in which we live is intended, in spite of all appearance to the contrary, to be the sphere of Christ's victory; that where our universe is hostile we are intended to win the victory through conflict, in alliance with the grace and power of Jesus Christ, the Saviour. . . . It is impossible for a Christian who thinks at all to have Christ in his heart and to keep him out of the universe.³

Contrary to what MacKinnon⁴ states, the cosmic Christ is much more than an inference of Paul, for to Paul the fact of the Lord Jesus is the key to an understanding of the universe.

He is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of all creation; for in him all things were created, in heaven and on earth, visible or invisible, whether thrones or dominions or principalities or authorities--all things were created through him and for him. . . . For in him all the fullness of God was pleased to dwell and through him to

³R. H. Strachan, The Fourth Gospel, 3rd edition (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1941), p. 72.

⁴James MacKinnon, The Gospel in the Early Church (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1933), pp. 79, 83, states,

It is precarious to see in our moral religious experience in relation to Christ a guarantee of the truth of cosmic speculation about him. . . . Why not be content with ascribing to him the Lordship in the religious sense which is his due? . . . The cosmic Christ is, after all, but an inference.

reconcile to himself all things, whether on earth or in heaven, making peace by the blood of his cross.⁵

The nature of Paul's experience in Christ he described as

καὶ νῦν κτίσις (Gal. 6:15), all things have become new (II Cor. 5:17). The light which he saw in the face of Jesus he compared with the light at creation (II Cor. 4:6).

When he speaks of the groaning of the whole creation and its travailing in pain together, he is almost certainly thinking of the account of creation in Genesis as the counterpart of the new creation in Christ (Rom. 8:22, 23, 26).⁶

Judaism, as has often been observed,⁷ discouraged cosmological speculation. According to the Mishnah the forbidden degrees may not be expounded before three persons, nor the Story of creation before two, nor (the chapter of) the Chariot before one alone, unless he is a Sage that understands of his own knowledge.⁸ To give one's mind to what is above, what is beneath, and what was beforetime and what will be hereafter is forbidden. In Ecclesiasticus the warning is given not to inquire beyond one's understanding nor into what is hidden from one.⁹ In the words of Moore,

In leaving this subject it may be observed that the esoteric cosmology of the Ma'aseh Bereshith, like its counterpart, the theosophic Ma'aseh Merkabab was in high estimation

⁵Col. 1:15-17, 19f.

⁶W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1948), p. 37.

⁷George Foot Moore, Judaism (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927), I, 383f., 411f.

⁸Herbert Danby, The Mishnah (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), pp. 212f., Hagigah 2:1.

⁹Ecclus. 3:21.

among the most correct of the schoolmen. Its vulgarization was prohibited, not for any suspicion of the doctrine itself, but that it might not be exposed to vulgar misunderstanding, and misunderstanding lead to skepticism or heresy.¹⁰

On the other hand the keen interest of Judaism in attempting to formulate an explanation for the origin and prevalence of sin, as well as its consequences, led to a great interest in the doctrine of the Fall of Adam in Genesis.¹¹ Both N. P. Williams and F. R. Tennant have shown how Judaism first fixed its interest on the legend of the descent of the watchers in Gen. 6:1-4 as the explanation of the origin of sin, but later focused attention on Genesis three until by the first century, A. D., the latter concept played the prominent role in all mythological speculation concerning the origin of sin.¹² In Ecclu. 25:24 it is stated, "From a woman did sin originate, and because of her we all must die," and again in Vita Adae et Evae 3:1, Eve said to Adam, "Wilt thou slay me? that I may die, and perchance God the Lord will bring thee into paradise, for on my account hast thou been driven thence," indicating the tendency of Judaism to make Eve the first transgressor. Although, as Oesterley notes,

The later Jewish theology, however, generally points to Adam as the real cause for the entering of sin and death

¹⁰Moore, op. cit., I, 384.

¹¹Davies, op. cit., p. 38.

¹²N. P. Williams, The Ideas of the Fall and of Original Sin (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1927), pp. 20f.
F. R. Tennant, The Sources of the Doctrines of the Fall and Original Sin (London: Cambridge University Press), pp. 235f.

into the world (cp. I Cor. xv.22), and that not so much on account of the 'Fall,' as that he refused to show repentance for what he had done; see, e.g., the Midrash Bemidbar Rabba, chap. xiii: 'When Adam transgressed the command of the Holy One, and ate of the tree, the Holy One demanded of him penitence, thereby revealing to him the means of freedom (i.e. from the result of his sin), but Adam would not show penitence.'¹³

And thou leddest him into Paradise, which thy right hand did plant before ever the earth came forward; and to him thou commandest one only observance of thine, but he transgressed it. Forthwith thou appointedst death for him and for his generations.¹⁴

The point is clear that without sin there would not be death¹⁵ and so Genesis three was understood. On the other hand a common Jewish belief was that the "Fall" involved more than mankind, and extended to the animals who also suffered its consequences. "And on that day was closed the mouth of all beasts, and of cattle, and of birds, and of whatever walks, and of whatever moves. . ." ". . . And he sent out of the Garden of Eden all flesh that was in the Garden of Eden. . ." (Book of Jubilees 3:28-9).

However, the "Fall" involved even more than this. It involved the whole of creation. As is commonly known the world was created for man.

¹³W. O. E. Oesterley, "The Book of Sirach," The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament (R. H. Charles, editor; London: Oxford University Press, 1913), I, 402.

¹⁴II Esdras 3:7.

¹⁵

II Esdras 7:11-12; 7:116-126; II Bar. 17:3; 23:4 are especially clear on this point. See also H. L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament (Munich: C. N. Beck, 1928), Rom. 5:15. However, II Bar. 54:15, 56:6, claim that where Adam sinned, "untimely death came into being."

And Thou didst say that Thou wouldst make for Thy world man as the administrator of Thy works, that it might be known that he was by no means made on account of the world, but the world on account of him. (II Bar. 14-18)¹⁶

Among Jewish writings of the first century, and thereabouts, creation is seen to have been made for Israel (II Esdras 6:55, 59, 7:11; Assumption of Moses 1:12), and in II Bar. 14:19; 15:7, 21:24 the world was made for the righteous of Israel. It followed therefore, that when Adam sinned the whole of creation was involved in the consequences.

But when Adam transgressed my statutes, then that which had been made was judged, and then the ways of this world became narrow and sorrowful and painful, and full of perils coupled with great toils. (II Esdras 7:11-12)

Various cosmic disorders followed the "Fall"; the circulation of the planets was affected, fruit took longer to ripen on the trees, vermin appeared on the earth, wild beasts acquired their ferocity and obstinacy and lost their speech. Six things in particular followed the Fall: the earth lost its fruitfulness, as did the trees, and the atmosphere ceased to be clear; as for man he lost the shining splendor of his person, the eternity of his life, and his gigantic size.¹⁷ The destiny of Israel is seen to be part of a larger plan which included all nations and, in fact, all of creation. It is against this background that an understanding of the "Cosmic Christ" is to be made.

Therefore the Messianic deliverance must have reference

¹⁶See also Gen. 1:26ff.; Wisdom of Solomon 9:1f.; II Esdras 8:1.

¹⁷Strack-Billerbeck, op. cit., IV, 799f.

to a time when all evil will be destroyed from the universe, when God's sovereignty shall destroy everything in opposition to it. From the point of view of man's hopes and aspirations, existence under these conditions may well be called life, for it is "the sum-total of all that constitutes life in its fullest sense,--the true life."¹⁸ In II Esdras 11:46 we read, concerning the deliverance which the lion (the Messiah) brings, "so the whole earth freed from thy violence, shall be refreshed again, and hope for the judgement and mercy of him that made her." Again in 13:26 in the interpretation of the Vision of "The Man from the Sea" (13:1-13), "this is he whom the Most High is keeping many ages (and through whom he will deliver his creation,)¹⁹ and the same shall order the survivors."

And in those days shall the mountains leap like rams, and the hills also shall skip like lambs satisfied with milk, and the faces of (all) the angels in heaven shall be lighted up with joy. And the earth shall rejoice, and the righteous shall dwell upon it, and the elect shall walk thereon.²⁰

There is an indication in II Esdras 7:26-44 that the Messianic age will end in a time like the beginning.

And it shall be, after those years, that my Son the Messiah shall die, and all in whom there is human breath. Then shall the world be turned into the primaeval silence seven days,

¹⁸Gustaf Dalman, The Words of Jesus, translated by D. M. Kay (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1902), p. 162, quotes E. Haupt, Die eschatologischen Aussagen Jesus, p. 85.

¹⁹G. H. Box, "IV Ezra," The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament (Charles, editor), II, 618, fn., on verse 26 considers the phrase within brackets to be a probable interpretation from 11:46.

²⁰Enoch 51:4f.

like as at the first beginnings; so that no man is left.
(7:30, see also II Bar. 3:7).

Concerning the future hope, and referring to Gunkel's axiom of the correspondence of Urzeit and Endzeit, T. W. Manson states,

The two epochs correspond because the purpose of God, which runs through and determines the whole process, is one and homogeneous throughout. The end answers to the beginning because all things are in the hands of God who sees the end from the beginning.²¹

The Messianic deliverance must combat all of the evil consequences of the "Fall."²² It is in view of such passages as Jubilees 1:29 (dated by Charles between 109 and 105 B. C.), "from the day of the new creation when the heavens and the earth shall be renewed and all their creation according to the powers of the heaven, . . ." and II Esdras 7:75, "we shall be kept in rest until those times come in which thou shalt renew the creation, . . ." (also Enoch 72:1, 45:4; II Bar. 32:6) that Paul is able to speak of a *καιρὸς κτίσεως*, (II Cor. 5:17; Gal. 6:15, also II Peter 3:13 and Rev. 21:1).

"The Christian conception of Redemption is the

²¹T. W. Manson, The Teaching of Jesus, 2nd edition (London: Cambridge University Press, 1935), p. 247, fn.2.

²²Strack-Billerbeck, op. cit., IV, 799ff., E. Schürer, History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1885), II, 130f. W. L. Knox, The St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles (London: Cambridge University Press, 1929), p. 94, with reference to Isaiah 11:6ff., 65:25, states, "Even the Scriptures of the Old Testament had accepted the widespread belief that the appearance of the Messiah was accompanied by a return to the beginning of all things." See also H. Gunkel, Schöpfung und Chaos (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1915), p. 367.

counterpart of the Jewish conception of Creation,"²³ for when Jesus was recognized as the Messiah, He was immediately a figure of cosmic significance.

The writings of Paul, however, are not the only New Testament writings which give Jesus a cosmic reference. For as is frequently pointed out,²⁴ the Stilling of the Storm in Mk. 4:35ff., appears to be a fulfillment of Ps. 107:23ff., esp. vs. 29, "He (the Lord) maketh the storm a calm, so that the waves thereof are still." Ps. 29:3f.; 89:9; 93:3f.; Isa. 5:30; Jer. 5:22; 31:35; Nah. 1:4; Hab. 3:15 are other Old Testament references which proclaim the power of the Lord over the sea, suggesting the prominence of this idea in the Hebrew religion.

We must remember the Old Testament metaphors of the sea, which always remained a sphere of danger, mystery and terror to the Hebrew mind; the restless sea is treated as the symbol of the troubled and sinful world. The power of Jehovah is supremely demonstrated by His authority over the winds and waves. That Jesus shares the power of God as the Lord of the mysteries of creation is the main teaching of the stories of the Stilling of the Storm (Mk. iv.35-41) and the Walking on the Sea (Mk.vi.45-52).²⁵

The placement of the episode concerning the casting out

²³C. H. Dodd, The Bible and the Greeks (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1935), p. 106.

²⁴Edwyn Hoskyns and Noel Davey, The Riddle of the New Testament (London: Faber and Faber, 1947), pp. 90ff., Davies, op. cit., pp. 40f.

²⁵Alan Richardson, The Miracle-Stories of the Gospels (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1941), p. 90.

of the legion of demons in Mk. 5:1-20,²⁶ immediately following the Stilling of the Storm, would appear to be a conscious attempt to maintain with a view to this Old Testament background that Jesus Himself stills the troubled waters and the tribulation of the people. "Christ commands the storm as God did the chaos at the beginning."²⁷ Behind it all lies the concept of a new creation through Christ.²⁸

This cosmic significance of Christ may even be traced in the first chapter of Mark,²⁹ where immediately following the

²⁶Hoskyns and Davey, op. cit., pp. 69ff. Martin Dibelius, From Tradition to Gospel, translated by Bertram Lee-Woolf (London: Ivor Nicholson and Watson, 1934), p. 277, considers the source of such stories as Mk. 4:45-51, "as an example of the secularization of the Christian narrative by non-Christian motives."

²⁷Davies, op. cit., p. 41.

²⁸Günkel, op. cit., would derive such passages from the early creation mythology of Israel.

²⁹Israel Abrahams, Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels, First Series (London: Cambridge University Press, 1917), pp. 39f., 49f. Abrahams notes the strong possibility that the Synoptists had Gen. 1:2 in mind when they referred to a "dove."

Now it is obviously near at hand to find the main source of the comparison of the Holy Spirit to a bird in Genesis 1.2, 'And the Spirit of God brooded (as a bird) upon the face of the waters.' . . . If anyone understood the spirit of the Talmud it was Rashi, and the fact that he (like other Jewish commentators) adopts the simile of the dove is of itself enough to show that Ben Zoma's simile was not considered objectionable. . . . it is obvious that we have not only a comparison to the dove, but also to its appearance 'on the face of the waters,' which fits in so well with the baptismal scene at Jordan, the dove descending as 'Jesus, when he was baptized, went up straightway from the water.' Even without the Ben Zoma analogue one could hardly doubt that the Synoptists must have had Genesis 1.2 in mind.

The Ben Zoma incident is reported in the Talmud (Hagiga 15a) as follows: 'Rabbi Joshua, the son of Hananiah was

voice from heaven which proclaimed, "Thou art my beloved Son, with thee am I well pleased," Jesus is brought into the wilderness where He is tempted of Satan, yet is victorious over him. Shortly thereafter (1:23ff.) He is able to drive an unclean spirit from a man, an event which brings forth the remark, "What is this? A new teaching! With authority He commands even the unclean spirits and they obey Him."

When seen against the background of apocalyptic teaching these isolated events took on a universal significance. It implied that the power with which the demons held the whole of nature enthralled had been broken.³⁰

In Mark's Gospel, the Church's faith in the personality of Jesus as Son of God, victor over the demonic powers of sin, pain, and death, and Redeemer of men from their sway, moulds and dominates the whole narrative. That the Messiah should destroy the power of the demons can be interpreted merely as a fulfillment of Messianic expectation. On the other hand, that the demonic powers should recognize in him their enemy and conqueror, clearly points to a Christian reinterpretation of facts in terms of a post-resurrection, perhaps Pauline conception of Jesus. 'Let us alone. What hast thou to do with us? I know thee who thou art, the Holy One of God.' (Mk. 1:24f.). In words like these we have already a theological interpretation of the fact of the historic Jesus, in terms of his supreme achievement; namely, the deliverance of this present world from the dominion of 'principalities and powers.' Mark is simply giving, in the story of Jesus'

standing on an ascent in the Temple Mound, and Ben Zoma saw him but did not stand before him. He said to him: Whence comes thou and whither go thy thoughts Ben Zoma? He replied, I was considering the space between the upper waters and the lower waters, and there is only between them a mere three fingers' breadth, as it is said, and the Spirit of God was brooding on the face of the waters like a dove which broods over her young but does not touch them.' . . . At all events the figure of the dove is not asserted to have originated with Ben Zoma, there is nothing to imply that it was regarded as an innovation, or that Ben Zoma's idea was unorthodox or heretic.

³⁰Galloway, op. cit., p. 39.

victory over, and recognition by, the demons, a concrete example of the result of the prolonged conflict of the Messiah with Satan, described so briefly in 1.12, 13.³¹

This is not restricted to Mark however, for as Burney has pointed out, it is to be found in Luke, Paul and John. All go back in thought to the appearance of Jesus Christ on earth as a new creation to be compared and contrasted with the first creation of the world and of mankind, and all therefore drew on Gen. 1:2, in working out their theme.³² With reference to Lk. 1:35 Burney states:

The spirit of God is pictured as brooding or hovering over the face of the waters in the initial process of creation, which issues in the production of light. So for St. Luke the Divine Birth means the dawning of ἀνατολή ἐξ ὕψους, ἐπιφάνει τοῖς ἐν σκότει καὶ σκιᾷ θανάτου κληγμένοις (Luke 1:78, 79) and φῶς εἰς ἀποκάλυψιν ἐθνῶν (Luke 2:32).³³

We may see, though less pointedly, in Matt. 1:23:

"Behold a virgin shall be with child and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel, which being interpreted is, God with us," the awareness of the inauguration of a new era such as God had called into being at creation. In the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel is a much more explicit reference to the relation of the Incarnation to Creation.

Since the gospel is the record of the new creation, of bringing into being of the sons of God, the opening verses of the prologue echo the style, vocabulary, syntax, and

³¹R. H. Strachan, The Historic Jesus of the New Testament (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1931), pp. 22f.

³²C. F. Burney, The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel (London: Oxford University Press, 1926), p. 43.

³³Ibid., p. 44.

general sense of the opening verses of the Book of Genesis and of those passages in the Wisdom literature which depend upon the narrative of the Creation. 'In the beginning,' 'light,' 'life,' 'were made,' and the succession of co-ordinate sentences, are all reminiscent of Genesis 1. 'The Word,' too, recalls the successive utterances of God, by which order was originally brought out of chaos: And God said, 'Let there be light, and there was light.' . . . The Word of God was not first audible when Jesus first spoke and acted. The Word made known then is the Word audible in the whole creation from its beginning: 'In the beginning was the Word.'³⁴

The words of Jn. 1:2, "All things were made through him, and without him was not anything made that was made," reaffirm the Jewish point of view regarding creation and deny implicitly that any of the forces of nature are outside of the sovereign activity of the Logos. There is a new creation, for "to all who believed in his name, he gave power to become children of God; who were born, not of blood nor of the will of the flesh nor of the will of man, but of God" (Jn. 1:12f.). This new creation of the children of God is brought about by the Word of God as the original creation of the world.

John affirms that the Word in becoming flesh demonstrated that this world of concrete fact was the expression of, and was in the control of, the same world-creating Spirit that appeared as a Redeemer in Jesus Christ.³⁵

The coming of the "Word made flesh" is the implanting of the seed of a new world. "Thus the idea of actual breaking in of the complete power of God is everywhere present in the thought of the

³⁴Edwyn Hoskyns, 2nd edition, The Fourth Gospel (Noel Davey, editor; London: Faber and Faber, 1947), pp. 140f.

³⁵Burnett Hillman Streeter, The Four Gospels (London: MacMillan and Company, Ltd., 1924), p. 388.

Fourth Evangelist."³⁶

It is of course in the writings of Paul that the idea of a "new creation" is most obvious. As was mentioned earlier the radical character of his experience in Christ he described as a *καὶ νῦν κτίσις* ; for all things have become new (II Cor. 5:17). It is possible to say with Davies, "We conclude from all this that the ascription of Messiahship to Jesus implied from the first that He had cosmic significance, and that for Christians His Advent was a new creation."³⁷

From this it is an easy step to the conception of Christ as the Second Adam, a transition which Paul made. In the chapter preceding we noted that Judaism tended to dwell on the unity of mankind in Adam. In late Jewish and Jewish-Christian literature there is a definite glorification of the first man, Adam.³⁸ It was pointed out that the "Fall" was taken to include the whole of creation in certain of the later writings. There is no difficulty in seeing why Paul used the term "Second Adam" to refer to Christ, whose Advent, as we have seen above, was considered the "new creation."

In the opinion of some, the concept of Christ as the Second Adam is pre-Pauline. Indeed, if the hymn in Phil. 2:6ff.,

³⁶Strachan, The Fourth Gospel, p. 131.

³⁷Davies, op. cit., p. 41.

³⁸William Manson, Jesus the Messiah (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1943), pp. 178f., finds evidence for this in such writings as the Latin Vita Adae xii-xvii, II Enoch xxx:11-12; xxxi:6. Here is a conception which he believes lies "far away from the conception of the Old Testament Adam."

is a pre-Pauline writing,³⁹ which seems to speak of a "Second Adam" in contrast to the first Adam, it is quite certain that this concept is pre-Pauline.⁴⁰ On the other hand the evidence that it is a pre-Pauline hymn is not conclusive and, therefore, there are insufficient grounds on which to make any final conclusions concerning the derivation of this conception from the passage. There is, perhaps, the suggestion that Mark has the first Adam in mind in 1:12-13 where reference is made to the temptation of Jesus. The passage "and he was with the wild beasts and the angels ministered to him," in particular seems to suggest such thinking. Frequently the relation of Adam and the wild beasts is mentioned.⁴¹ Also, as Bousset notes, the Rabbinic tradition taught that the angels had been asked to worship Adam by God but had refused. Here, too, the evidence is too scanty to build on.

Burney is one whose opinion is that the relation between Adam and the Second Adam is pre-Pauline. His argument is based on his belief that I Cor. 15:45 is a quotation from an earlier source.

The passage as a whole may have been drawn from a collection of Old Testament Testimonia composed with the object of meeting Rabbinic Judaism upon its own ground. . . the implication is that some time before St. Paul wrote his epistle in

³⁹In Chapter II this passage was dealt with in detail. See especially pp. 41ff.

⁴⁰A. E. J. Rawlinson, The New Testament Doctrine of the Christ (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1926), pp. 133ff., is of this opinion.

⁴¹Strack-Billerbeck, op. cit., III, 250f.

A.D. 55-6 the antithesis between the first Adam and Christ as the Second Adam had been worked out in Christian Rabbinic circles and was used in argument.⁴²

This is not to be completely disregarded, but since Gen. 2:7 finds its only reference in the New Testament at this point, and as it appears not to have been a favorite verse for discussion among the Rabbis,⁴³ the evidence again is neither weighty nor final. Actually it is quite possible that the conception of Christ as the Second Adam may be traced to the genius of Paul, although it is impossible to furnish conclusive evidence of this fact at present. At any rate, our chief concern is not whether or not Paul is the author of the expression, but rather, what he meant by it.

Paul has quite certainly built and developed his concept of Christ as the "Second Adam" from the current thought of

Judaism. For in Rom. 5:12 we read, "Διὰ τοῦτο, ὥσπερ δι' ἑνὸς ἀνθρώπου ἡ ἁμαρτία εἰς τὸν κόσμον εἰσῆλθε, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ὁ θάνατος, καὶ οὕτως εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὁ θάνατος διηλθεν, ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἥμαρτον."

This, as we have mentioned earlier, well represents the thinking of Judaism concerning the entrance of sin into the world, and the consequence of death which follows. It was indeed through one man, Adam, that sin came into the world, but every man has sinned, and therefore is deserving of death. However if death came through one man, (Rom. 5:17ff.) πολλῶ μᾶλλον οἱ τὴν

⁴²Burney, op. cit., pp. 45f.

⁴³Strack-Billerbeck, op. cit., III, 477.

περισσεῖαν τῆς χάριτος καὶ τῆς δωρεᾶς
 τῆς δικαιοσύνης λαμβάνοντες ἐν ζωῇ
 βασιλεύσουσι διὰ τοῦ ἐνὸς
 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ .⁴⁴

Then as one man's trespass led to condemnation for all men, so one man's act of righteousness leads to acquittal and life for all men. For, as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by one man's obedience many will be made righteous.

Commenting on Rom. 5:12ff., I Cor. 15:21, Col. 1:16ff., W. L. Knox writes,

The argument in all these passages is that Our Lord as a greater Adam is typical of mankind, in the same way as Adam, though of an infinitely greater degree. No doubt the point had been made clear in each case during the earlier training of the converts to whom S. Paul writes. The arguments in Romans and I Corinthians would be utterly unintelligible, unless the readers had already been instructed as to the unique relations in which Our Lord and Adam stand to the rest of mankind, and the power of the merits of Our Lord to atone for the transgression of Adam.⁴⁵

The curse had been extended under the Law, for obedience to the Law was impossible. "Law came to increase the trespass," but through Jesus the curse was abolished. Belief in Jesus enabled the believer, by a divine power freely bestowed upon him, to

⁴⁴Danby, op. cit., p. 388. Sanhedrin 4:5.

Therefore but a single man was created in the world to teach that if any man has caused a single soul to perish from Israel, Scripture imputes it to him as though he had caused a whole world to perish; and if any man saves alive a single soul from Israel Scripture imparts it to him as though he had saved alive a whole world.

⁴⁵W. L. Knox, St. Paul and the Church of Jerusalem (London: Cambridge University Press, 1925), p. 117, fn. 23.

attain to that righteousness which the Law had revealed.

We ourselves, who are Jews by birth and not Gentile sinners, yet who know that a man is not justified by works of the law but through faith in Jesus Christ, even we have believed in Christ Jesus, in order to be justified by faith in Christ, and not by works of the law, because 'by works of the law shall no one be justified.' (Gal. 2:16f.)

It is in the "last Adam" that man enters into the "new creation."

The "new creation" is the divine reversal of the old disaster; the effect of faith in Christ was to restore man to his original state of eternal life. The misery of man under the Law lay in the fact that he desired to serve God, but was unable to resist the lusts which resulted from his association with the flesh. However, through Christ this was accomplished.

In I Cor. 15 we read again concerning the parallelism between Adam and Christ, but the difference between the two is sharp. Ἐγένετο ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος Ἀδὰμ εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν, but ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδὰμ εἰς πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν and again, ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος ἐκ γῆς, χοϊκός but ὁ δεύτερος ἄνθρωπος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ

(I Cor. 15:45, 47). By man came death; by man came also victory over death. "Thus Adam as the founder and head of the old humanity is set over against Christ as the fountain and head of the new."⁴⁶ Jesus is absolutely identified with mankind.

So also, if St. Paul constantly thinks of Jesus as the Son of Man--and he does so even where he makes no use of that particular title--it is because Jesus is the 'one man' who by his obedience or 'righteous act,' i.e. by his acceptance of death in the stead of man, has cancelled the effect of Adam's

⁴⁶W. Morgan, The Religion and Theology of Paul (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1917), p. 55.

transgression, and become the head of a new humanity (Rom. v.12-21). The emphasis is. . . upon the completeness with which Jesus on earth identified himself with men in their state of sin and death. St. Paul, in fact, is bringing out the intensely human and historical character of the claim of Jesus to the apocalyptic title (Phil. 2:5-11). . . . The emphasis is throughout upon the human life, the human drama; the Christological language is but the vehicle of the historical-suprahistorical meaning which Jesus as personal spirit has for faith.⁴⁷

In I Cor. 15:45-49, Paul names Christ as the Man from heaven, and, in contrasting Him with Adam designates Him as the second or last Man simply because in these latter days, when the fullness of the time was come, God sent forth His Son to be born of woman and to redeem to Himself a new humanity consisting of the sons of God (Gal. 4:4). The old humanity is being put off and the new is replacing it, "seeing that you have put off the old nature with its practices and have put on the new nature, which is being renewed in knowledge after the image of its creator" (Col. 3:9-10). It is a new humanity where distinctions of race, color, culture, class are to be done away with, for "Here there cannot be Greek and Jew, circumcised and uncircumcised, barbarian, Scythian, slave, freeman, but Christ is all, and in all" (Col. 3:11).

Although from our discussion of current cosmic speculations in Judaism it is easy to see the wider significance of the Pauline expression, "Last Adam," in other Pauline passages the cosmic significance of Christ is made more obvious. For example, in I Cor. 8:6 we read, "yet for us there is one God, the Father,

⁴⁷W. Manson, op. cit., p. 158.

from whom are all things and for whom we exist, and one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things and through whom we exist."⁴⁸

It is the root conviction of Christian experience that a man who is united to Christ by faith has not only found a personal Saviour: He has come into touch with ultimate reality. . . the fact of Christ is the key to the meaning of the universe; and Christian experience will never consent to be robbed of the conviction that the Redeemer who has shown Himself of absolute and final worth in the experience of the individual soul must be absolute and final all along the line of God's creation.⁴⁹

The absoluteness of Christ in the mind of Paul is brought out in the preceding verse, "For although there may be so-called gods in heaven or on earth--as indeed there are many "gods" and many "lords," yet for us there is one God. . . and one Lord, Jesus Christ."

Paul's mind was occupied with the ultimate consequences of his profound conception of Christ. There are no clear data to establish the position, often hastily affirmed by some modern scholars, that these consequences were involved in the apocalyptic idea of Messiah. We are on far surer ground in regarding them as inferences from what he had discovered Christ to be in his own experience and in that of the Church, inferences which he clothed in language which would appeal to his readers, both Jewish and Gentile.⁵⁰

In Col. 1:15ff., we discover an even more explicit

⁴⁸Oscar Cullmann, The Earliest Christian Confessions, translated by J. K. S. Reid (London: Lutterworth Press, 1949), pp. 51f., considers I Cor. 8:6 to be a "very old bipartite formula, indeed, which the Apostle Paul employs. . ."

⁴⁹James S. Stewart, A Man in Christ (New York: Harper, 1935), p. 312.

⁵⁰H. A. A. Kennedy, The Theology of the Epistles (London: Duckworth, 1919), p. 157.

presentation of this high doctrine. It comes about as Paul combats a particular heresy that seems to have arisen in the Colossian church. Many, such as Holtzmann, have seen fit to doubt that these verses were Pauline, maintaining that they represent an interpolation into the text, a speculation concerning the nature of Christ which was added at a later date.⁵¹ However, there are no adequate textual grounds for rejecting these verses, and it seems unwise to reject them because of their peculiarities, especially when the heresy which Paul seems intent on combating is considered. Apparently, certain members of the church at Colossae were being urged to accept many practices and theories current in the religious world of the day in addition to the beliefs and practices they already held concerning the person of Christ and the Church. The implication was that a sincere faith in Christ and a simple form of worship in His name were excellent for beginners, but that those who desired to enjoy the "deep things of God" must be prepared to learn new truth and to adopt new rules that did not place Christ at the center or consider Him the sole and sufficient Saviour of men.⁵²

⁵¹H. J. Holtzmann, Lehrbuch der Neutestamentlichen Theologie (Tübingen, 1911), pp. 73ff., F. C. Porter, The Mind of Christ in Paul (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930), pp. 179f., M. Dibelius, Hand-Commentar zum Neuen Testament, "An die Kolosser" (H. Leitzmann, editor), Vol. xii, (Tübingen, 1926), p. 9, John Knox, "Philemon and the Authenticity of Colossians," Journal of Religion, xviii (1938), pp. 144ff.

⁵²W. L. Knox, St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles, pp. 149ff., gives a detailed discussion of the type of setting which Paul's opponents would have been attempting to impose upon the Christian faith in the Colossae church. He sums up his discussion on pp. 151f., by stating,

In particular, certain teachers were telling the Colossians it was necessary that they should worship angels and observe special rites and ascetic practices for full salvation (2:16, 18, 20, 21). They were being asked to give Christ a role secondary to that of the angels in God's work of creation and redemption. Further, they were being asked to observe fasts and festivals and rigid ritual rules as indispensable aids to the attainment of salvation. In answer to this threat Paul was not content simply to denounce. Instead, he proceeded to set forth a full-orbed Christian theology which had no need of being supplemented by any other teaching. It is not surprising to find such a passage in the light of the above. Significantly, he places it immediately after a comment concerning the redemption to be had in God's beloved Son (vs. 13f.), bearing out the fact that the Fall of mankind and the redemption that must follow held cosmic associations in the thinking of the day. ⁵³

ΕΣΤΙΝ ΕΙΚΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΔΟΡΑΤΟΥ brings to mind the designation of Christ as the Second Adam, who, like the first Adam would be in the image of God, ΠΡΩΤΟΤΟΚΟΣ ΠΑΥΣ ΚΤΙΣΕΩΣ. ⁵³

...they do not appear to have allowed to Jesus that prominence in the scheme of redemption by which the Gnostics from the time of Cerinthus and Saturnilus endeavoured to preserve, at least in theory, the position held by Jesus in the teaching of the Church. It seems that they allowed Him an important position in the scheme of redemption, but held that there were higher stages to be attained in the knowledge of the one true God.

⁵³ Adolf Deissmann, Light from the Ancient East, translated by Lionel R. M. Strachan (London: Hodder and Stoughton,

The reason for the fullness of the redemption wrought by Jesus lay in the fact that He was nothing less than the divine Wisdom. It was perfectly true that the one true God, the God of Israel, was invisible, and that no words could exaggerate His infinite greatness. But He had seen fit to reveal Himself by making His image, the Wisdom created from the beginning, visible to mankind in the person of Jesus. That the divine Wisdom was the 'image' of God was part of the regular Jewish-Hellenistic tradition; the divine Wisdom was also the first-born of all creation. This is a commonplace of the Hellenistic synagogue. Wisdom was present with God before the creation and therefore could be the living and divine pattern of the Timaeus. For the Logos as the ideal world, the oldest and first-born son of God, see Philo, *De Conf. Ling.* 14 (63, M.I. 414); the cosmos is the one and beloved son in *De Ebr.* 8 (30, M.I. 361), and the younger in *Quod Deus Imm.* 6 (32, M.I. 277), the divine pattern of the world in which all things were potentially present before they were created in material form. It was an advantage of this conception that the Wisdom of God or the ideal cosmos was also the 'beloved' of God, and thus could be clearly identified with the historical Jesus, of whom God had testified that he was his 'beloved Son.' The coincidence of the Messianic and cosmogenic titles could not have been more appropriate to Paul's argument. It followed from the position of Jesus as the divine pattern, in whom all things whether seen or unseen were potentially present from the beginning, that even the unseen rulers of the planetary spheres were inferior to Him in the scale of being. For whatever their character as thrones, lordships, rulers and authorities might be, they were created by Him; the divine pattern of the cosmos was also the agent of God in creation.⁵⁴

Some have sought to find the background of this doctrine

1910), p. 88, notes that "πρωτότοκος" is used on an undated tomb of a pagan "high priest" and "friend of the gods." *Epigrammate Graeca ex lapidibus collecta*, ed. Georgius Kaibel, Berolini, 1878, No. 460, "ἑρὸς γὰρ εἴμι πρωτότοκων ἐκ τελέθ [ω ν ?]" James Hope Moulton and George Mulligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1949), p. 557, also note a sacrificial decree of B. C. 200, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 615, in which mention is made of ὁ ἐν ἐγκύμονα πρωτότοκον and also a decree of adoption dating A. D. 381.

⁵⁴W. L. Knox, *op. cit.*, pp. 159f.

in the Logos doctrine of Philo.⁵⁵ J. Weiss⁵⁶ considers that the phrase "in him were created all things" (Col. 1:16) should be literally taken, that Christ contains the All in Himself and can only be understood if identified with the Logos conception of Philo.

The Jews identified the divine wisdom with the Torah, which also is sometimes personified. Wisdom and Torah, like the word, were for them realities, not mere names or concepts; but they never gave them personal existence. . . . Philo, indeed, finds his Logos in both the wisdom and the word of God, and interprets what the Scriptures say about them in this sense, thus conferring upon them whatever of personality belongs to that 'secondary deity'; but his notion of the Logos was not derived from them. . . . Philo's God is pure Being, of which nothing can be predicated but that It is, abstract static Unity, eternally, unchangeably the same; pure immaterial intellect. Between the transcendent deity and the material world of multiplicity and change, of becoming and dissolution, is a gulf that must somehow be spanned. . . . Philo's intermediary is the Logos. . . . In his theology the Logos is the manifest and active deity; and in his interpretation of the Scriptures, where God appears to men, converses with them, reveals his will and purpose, it is, according to Philo, of the Logos that all this should be understood. The two-fold meaning of the Greek word (reason, utterance) made it natural to appropriate for the Logos what was said of the divine wisdom (*σοφία*) and of the word of God (*λόγος, ρήμα*); and allegorical ingenuity enabled Philo to find the Logos in many other places and associations.⁵⁷

Paul nowhere uses the title "Logos" of Jesus, yet he does not hesitate on other occasions to use terms current in pagan

⁵⁵E. F. Scott, "Colossians," "Philemon," and "Ephesians," The Moffatt New Testament Commentary (New York: Harper, 1930), pp. 20f. J. B. Lightfoot, The Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1882), pp. 141f.

⁵⁶Johannes Weiss, History of Primitive Christianity, translated by R. Knopf (London: MacMillan and Company, Ltd., 1937), II, 484f.

⁵⁷Moore, op. cit., I, 415ff.

religious thought to express himself.

Others seek to appeal to Stoicism to find the background for Paul's thinking at this point.⁵⁸ Clearly this does not represent the thinking of Paul, because for him the Father of the Lord Jesus is the living God of the Old Testament, not the impersonal Being of Greek metaphysics. It is true that God may at times use angels and, perhaps, other means to reveal His will and purpose and to bring about His ends; but as a God who did nothing would have contradicted the very basis of Paul's thought, so would a God who was personally active in the world have contradicted Philo's conception of God.

Here again the Stoic conception of a creative reason, described now as a vitalizing breath, now as a formative fire, interpenetrating the universe in all its parts, the principle of activity, life, and order, is really foreign to Paul's mode of thought. In the words of James Denney,

. . . the writer can only express his conviction that the attempts made to explain what may be called the Christology of Colossians by reference to Philo are essentially beside the mark. At the utmost, they help us to understand a casual expression here or there in Paul; they contribute nothing to the substance of his thought. Christ was not a lay figure that Paul could drape as he chose in the finery of Palestinian apocalyptic or of Alexandrian philosophy. He was the living Lord and Saviour, and if we can be sure of anything, it is that in what the apostle says of Him there is nothing merely formal, nothing which has the character of literary or speculative borrowing, but that

⁵⁸Norden, for example, in Agnostos Theos (Berlin: Teubner, 1913), pp. 240ff., refers to Rom. 11:36, ὅτι ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας as a "Stoic doxology," and compares it to Marcus Aurelius, Meditations, IV. 23: ἐκ σοῦ πάντα, ἐν σοὶ πάντα, εἰς σε πάντα.

everything rests on experience. . . . Paul was not a philosopher like Philo, baffled by the difficulty of connecting the spiritual God and the material universe, and finding the solution of his ever-recurring problem in the idea of the Logos, an idea which in some unexplained, not to say incomprehensible, way he was led to identify with Christ. The relation of God to the world had no more difficulty for him than for Amos or Isaiah; the God in whom he believed was not the philosophical abstraction of Philo, but the living God of the Bible, who made the world and who acted in it as he pleased.⁵⁹

As a Christian it was the experience of Paul that in Christ he came into direct contact with the eternal truth and love of God, the very reality of God. Paul was conscious of meeting God in Christ. He had no interest in transferring to Christ the attributes of the Logos in an attempt to meet the difficulty of relating God to the universe nor to fill in the weak points of his philosophy. His interest was in setting forth the true nature of Christ, a nature which for him meant that God was in Him. The knowledge of this fact demanded a specifically Christian outlook of creation.

Another development, closely identified with the Wisdom of the Old Testament, and undoubtedly formative in the thinking of Paul, is the relation of the Torah to creation. As Moore points out,

The identification of revelation, and more specifically of the Mosaic Law, with divine Wisdom, was thus established in Jewish teaching at least as far back as Sirach (ca. 200 B.C.), and his way of introducing it makes the impression that it was a commonplace in his time, when the study of the law and the cultivation of wisdom went hand in hand,

⁵⁹James Denney, Jesus and the Gospel (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1908), pp. 35f.

and as in his case were united in the same person.⁶⁰

A number of instances are to be seen in The Wisdom of Sirach where this identification is made (15:1; 21:11; 34:8; 19:20, etc.). After noting likewise the frequent identity of the two in the rabbinic writings, Moore (p. 266ff.) goes on to point out that this led to the belief that the Law, as well as Wisdom, was older than the world, and more than this, led to the relating of the Law to creation.

Akiba called it the instrument of God in creation: Beloved (of God) are Israel, for to them was given the instrument with which this world was created, as it is said, 'For good instruction have I given you, my Law forsake not' (Prov. 4, 2) (P. Aboth 3, 14). . . .⁶¹

Another idea which finds frequent expression is that the world was created for the Law. So according to R. Benaiah: "The world and everything in it was created solely for the sake of Law, as it is said, The Lord founded the earth for the sake of Wisdom' (Prov. 3:19). (Gen. R. 12:2)."⁶²

When, therefore, Paul thinks of Christ as the "New Law," as he appears to do, it was "to prove that Jesus, not the Torah, was the true revelation of the divine glory and the divine light."⁶³ If Judaism believed that the universe conformed to

⁶⁰Moore, op. cit., I, 265.

⁶¹Moore, Ibid., I, 266f.

⁶²Ibid., I, 268.

⁶³W. L. Knox, op. cit., p. 134. See also R. H. Strachan, "II Corinthians," The Moffatt New Testament Commentary (New York: Harper, 1935), p. 86 and Joseph Klausner, From Jesus to Paul (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1944), pp. 516ff.

the Law, how much more would Paul be certain that the universe must conform to Christ? If Judaism could look upon the Law as the instrument of creation, surely Paul would see in Christ the agency of creation.

By teaching that Christ was the agent of creation Paul sought to express a similar truth when he taught "that to live after Christ is the natural life, that the Creator is the Redeemer, that Nature and Grace are related not antithetical."⁶⁴

Concerning the parables of Jesus, C. H. Dodd has made the same observance,

There is a reason for this realism of the parables of Jesus. It arises from the conviction that there is no more analogy, but an inward affinity, between the natural order and the spiritual order; or as we might put it in the language of the parables themselves, the Kingdom of God is intrinsically like the processes of nature and of the daily life of men. Jesus therefore did not feel the need of making up artificial illustrations for the truths He wished to teach. He found them ready-made by the Maker of man and nature. That human life, including the religious life, is a part of nature is distinctly stated in the well-known passage beginning 'Consider the fowls of the air. . . .' (Mt. vi.26-30; Lk.xii.24-28). Since nature and super-nature are one order, you can take any part of that order and find in it illumination for other parts. Thus the falling of rain is a religious thing, for it is God who makes the rain to fall on the just and the unjust; the death of a sparrow can be contemplated without despairing of the goodness of nature, because the bird is not forgotten by your Father; and the love of God is present in the natural affection of a father for his scapegrace son. This sense of the divineness of the natural order is the major promise of all the parables, and it is the point where Jesus differs most profoundly from the outlook of the Jewish apocalyptists, with whose ideas He had on some sides much sympathy.⁶⁵

⁶⁴Davies, op. cit., p. 174.

⁶⁵C. H. Dodd, The Parables of the Kingdom (London: Nisbet and Company, 1950), pp. 21f.

It may be seen also in the comment attributed to Jesus in Mk. 2:9, Matt. 9:5, Lk. 5:23, "Which is easier, to say to the paralytic, 'Your sins are forgiven'; or to say, 'Rise, take up your pallet and walk'?" Here the relation between the forgiveness of sins and the healing of a man's body seemingly implies at least a connection between the two.

Actually, it seems that in the Wisdom literature of Judaism one finds the most likely basis for the Pauline thinking along these lines. In Prov. 8:22ff., we read,

The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his way, before his works of old. I was set up from everlasting, from the beginning, before the earth was. . .25 Before the mountains were settled, before the hills was I brought forth;. . .27 When he established the heavens, I was there. . .29f When he marked out the foundations of the earth; Then I was by him, as a master workman; and I was daily his delight. . .

Here is revealed a remarkable personification of Wisdom. Likewise in the Wisdom of Sirach 24:1ff., we read of a pre-existent and personified Wisdom:

Wisdom praiseth herself and is honoured among the people. She openeth her mouth in the assembly of the Most High, and is honoured in the presence of His hosts. 'I came forth from the mouth of the Most High, and as a mist I covered the earth. . . .He created me from the beginning, before the world; The memorial of me shall never cease. . . .Come unto me ye that desire me, and be ye filled with my produce; for my memorial is sweeter than honey, and the possession of me than the honeycomb. They that eat shall still hunger for me, and they that drink me shall still thirst for me; He that obeyeth me will not be ashamed, and they that serve me will not commit sin.'

Finally, in the Wisdom of Solomon, part II (chapters 6-9), we have the personification of Wisdom.

(7:25ff.) For she is an effulgence from everlasting light. And an unspotted mirror of the working of God, And an image of his goodness. And she, though but one, hath power to do

all things; and remaining in herself reneweth all things . . . 9:9 And with thee is wisdom, which knoweth thy works, and was present when thou wast making the world, and which understandeth what is pleasing in thine eyes, And what is right according to thy commandments.

"In Prov. 8, Eccles. 24, and Wisdom 7:22-8:1 we can trace the development of the personalized figure of Wisdom, which is more than a personification, if less than a person."⁶⁶ Wisdom is conceived as the companion and helper of God in the creation of the world, which exhibits His Wisdom, and she continues to inspire men with the qualities that lead to a successful life, in the individual and the society. As C. F. Burney has pointed out,⁶⁷ the conception of Christ as the first-born of creation⁶⁸ may be directly derived from the Old Testament by the identification of Christ as the 'image of God' with the Divine Wisdom described in Proverbs as "in the beginning of his way, before his works of old," (8:22) and in the Book of Wisdom as "an image of his goodness" (7:26). Furthermore, he considers Col. 1:15ff. an exposition of Bereshith in Gen. 1:1, according to the Rabbinic manner. To quote him:

⁶⁶H. Wheeler Robinson, "The Religion of Israel," A Companion to the Bible (T. W. Manson, editor; Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1939), p. 307.

⁶⁷C. F. Burney, "Christ as the APXH of Creation," Journal of Theological Studies, xxvii (1926), pp. 160ff.

⁶⁸It is important to note, as Lightfoot and others have shown, that the word "firstborn" (πρωτότοκος) carries with it predominantly the idea of sovereignty. This of course points quite significantly to the "headship" or Lordship of Christ over all of creation. Lightfoot, op. cit., pp. 143ff. Dodd, "Colossians," The Abingdon Bible Commentary (F. C. Eiselen, E. Lewis, and D. G. Downey, editors) (New York: Abingdon Press, 1929), p. 1254.

Three explanations are given of the preposition bē: then four explanations of the substantive rēshîth; and the conclusion is that in every possible sense of the expression, Christ is its fulfiller. . . . Putting the argument in tabular form. . . it appears as follows:--

Prov. 8:22ff., where Wisdom (i.e. Christ) is called rēshîth, gives the key to Gen. 1:1, "Bērēshîth God created the heavens and the earth."

Bērēshîth "in rēshîth"--*ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθη τὰ πάντα, κ.τ.λ.*

Bērēshîth "by rēshîth"--*πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐκτίσται.*

Bērēshîth "into rēshîth"--*πάντα εἰς αὐτὸν ἐκτίσται.*

Rēshîth "Beginning"--*αὐτὸς ἐστὶ πρῶ πάντων.*

Rēshîth "Sum-total"--*τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ συνέστηκε.*

Rēshîth "Head"--*αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ σώματος, κ.τ.λ.*

Rēshîth "First-fruits"--*ὅς ἐστιν ἀρχὴ, πρωτότοκος ἐκτὼν νεκρῶν.*

Conclusion: Christ fulfills every meaning which may be extracted from Rēshîth ἵνα γένηται ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτὸς πρωτεύων. ⁶⁹

Certainly this is the most likely solution to the problem. The function of Wisdom was twofold; it operated both in the cosmos, in creation, and also in the world of men, in what we might call the work of redemption. The twofold function is transferred to Christ, who is not only the agent in creation in a physical sense but also the agent of the moral recreation of mankind. Dibelius is correct in finding here a correspondence between creation and redemption.⁷⁰ Christ is the Wisdom of God in both aspects. In Colossians, the ideas of creation and redemption are united-- "redemption being the present fact from which thought begins, and in the light of which alone creation can be interpreted."⁷¹ The heresy which threatened the Colossian church caused Paul to formulate a more systematic presentation of cosmic redemption

⁶⁹ Burney, *op. cit.*, pp. 175. Underlined words in this quote are in italics in the original.

⁷⁰ Dibelius, *op. cit.*, pp. 6f.

⁷¹ H. R. Mackintosh, *The Doctrine of the Person of Jesus Christ*, 2nd edition (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1910), p. 71.

than we have record of before, for to him the work of Christ was cosmic in scope, unlimited, and required nothing further for man's complete redemption. His argument is, in essence: Christ is the image of the invisible God and is supreme over all angels and powers (1:15); He is the divine agent of creation of all things (1:16); He is before all things (1:17) καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ συνέστηκε ; He is the head of the church, etc., (1:18) that in everything He might be preeminent; for in Him all the fullness of God was pleased to dwell (1:19) καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ to reconcile all things to Himself whether on earth or in heaven, making peace by the blood of His cross, (1:20). In addition to the Christ-line of redemption, there cannot be another and separate God-line of creation. The redemptive process receives its world-wide significance not only from the broad base of departure and the broad final goal, but also from the universal outreach of the Christ-event at the mid-point.

For Primitive Christianity, there is only one line of divine activity; it is that one of which it is said from beginning to end: Everything from God and to God and everything through Christ, through the Word, 'through him.'⁷²

In Christ there is absolute power over all hostile powers wherever they may be, and in Him "all the lines of the divine plans for humanity and for the universe converge."⁷³ The purpose of God in Christ is "to unite all things in him, things in heaven and things on earth." (Eph. 1:10)

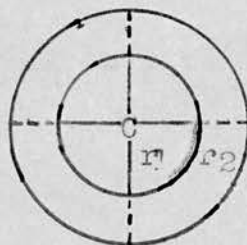
⁷²Cullmann, Christ and Time, pp. 178f.

⁷³Stewart, op. cit., p. 315.

Cullmann has diagrammatically represented the relation of redemption to the whole of creation, and we can do well to quote him at this point.

This idea that Christ from the time of his resurrection is the head of the Church and likewise head of all visible and invisible beings, but that his body, on the contrary is represented only by the Church, helps us to understand better the close relation that Primitive Christianity presupposes to exist in the present period between redemptive process and general world process. The Church as Christ's body continues his work on earth. What here happens is decisive for all beings: 'Through the Church the manifold wisdom of God is proclaimed to the lordships and powers in the heavenly world' (Eph. 3:10). From this center Christ rules the world of the visible and invisible. It is the heart and center of his Lordship. To be sure, he also rules over the Church, for he is also its head, but in such a way that the Church, in so far as he takes form in it (Gal. 4:19), likewise rules with him (II Tim. 2:12).

Church and world are two circular surfaces that lie beside one another, so to speak, or perhaps only touch or intersect. They also are not identical. We must rather conceive two concentric circles, whose common center is Christ. The entire circular surface ($r_1 + r_2$) is the reign of Christ; the inner circle (r_1) is the Church, the surface lying between the two circumferences (r_2) is the world. . . . The inner area, to be sure, is also made up of sinful men, but nevertheless of such as believe in the redemption in Christ; by this faith they know concerning Christ's rule over them and over the entire world. The rest of the visible and invisible world is also ruled by Christ, but for the time being does not know it. It can stand unconsciously under the Lordship of Christ, since it is indeed subjected to him.



C = CHRIST
 r_1 = CHURCH
 r_2 = WORLD
 $r_1 + r_2$ = REIGN OF CHRIST

⁷⁴Cullmann, op. cit., pp. 187f.

Additional references relating Jesus to the divine Wisdom or creative Word of God of the Old Testament may be examined in the Epistle to the Hebrews. Such references as δι' οὗ καὶ ἐποίησε τοὺς αἰῶνας ⁷⁵ (1:2) bring to the mind the language of Philo with which he speaks of God as having used the Logos in creation as His instrument (ὄργανον); ⁷⁶ or elsewhere, "λόγος δ' ἐστὶν εἰκὼν θεοῦ, δι' οὗ σύμπας ὁ κόσμος ἐδημιουργεῖτο;" ⁷⁷ and ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης καὶ χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ (1:3) bring to mind Philo's reference to the Logos as χαρακτὴρ of the seal of God; ⁷⁸ and the reference to Wisdom in the Wisdom of Solomon 7:25f. as the "ἀπόρρις of glory of the Almighty," and the "ἀπαύγασμα from everlasting light." Nevertheless these references by the author to the Hebrews are not to be understood as metaphysical theorizing, but rather as the result of an attempt to express the ultimate vastness of the claim made concerning the person of Jesus. All of creation is to be interpreted from the standpoint of the Son of God. The Creation Story is the same as that of the Old Testament; that is, that it is from God; but now the New Testament points

⁷⁵H. Sasse, "αἰών," Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament (Gerhard Kittel, editor) (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1942), I, 204, points out that αἰών is here identical in meaning with κόσμος, being the spatial usage of the word.

⁷⁶Leg. Alleg. iii, 96.

⁷⁷de Sacerdot. 5.

⁷⁸de Planat. 18.

out that Jesus, the Son of God, is revealed as the instrument of creation. In the words of W. Manson,

In the course of the earliest development of Christian thought the conception of the Person of Jesus in its significance for religion passed through two stages of expression. In the first of these stages it took to itself the Messianic terminology of Palestinian Judaism, and on the lips both of Jesus and of His followers enunciated itself by the aid of the titles 'Christ,' 'Son of God,' and 'son of Man.' Only through such language could the finality of the revelation made in the word and work of Jesus be stated in the form adequate for the purpose and sufficiently related to the history of prophetic religion in the past. Secondly, with the beginnings of the Christian world-mission the Church's proclamation of Jesus took over, in addition, the vocabulary of the Jewish-Alexandrian school of Wisdom-theology. This medium of expression, connecting as it did on the one side with the Old Testament conception of the Word or Torah of God, and on the other side with the Greek idea of the divine Mind or Reason operative in the universe, brought out for the larger world the ultimate nature of the claim made for Jesus in the confession of the Church.⁷⁹

If the Church was right in worshipping Jesus, it could only be because in some sense He was from all eternity "in the form of God." The solution was found in the equation of Him with the Wisdom-Logos, and in this capacity He was Himself the creator of the powers that ruled the heavens and the fate of man, and was first in order of time. Yet at the same time, in Col. 1:18, He is the redeemer through whom man is reconciled to God and by whom the sins of man are done away.

Thus He is first in both orders, that of creation and that of redemption. The Hellenistic reader would find both thoughts familiar, and certainly would not worry about the difficulty of seeing in Jesus both the creator and the savior; the neatness of the parallelism would be as convincing to him as pages of argument. He would be prepared to accept the

⁷⁹W. Manson, The Epistle to the Hebrews (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1951), p. 97.

conception of Him as the head and mind of the cosmic body of the Church; for Seneca was ready to write to Nero in this capacity.⁸⁰

The one thing that would be incomprehensible to him, if he were not already a convert, was the one thing which I have already noticed, that Jesus established that peace, which was the essential mark of the new age in the history of the cosmos, by His death on the Cross.⁸¹

The primitive Church brought all of time and the universe into relation with Christ. As Cullmann has keenly observed,

Even the time before the Creation is regarded entirely from the position of Christ; it is the time in which, in the counsel of God, Christ is already foreordained as Mediator before the foundation of the world (John 17:24: I Peter 1:20).⁸²

He is then the Mediator of the Creation itself (Jn. 1:1; and Heb. 1:2, and especially vv. 10ff.; I Cor. 8:6; Col. 1:16). This is indicated by the commanding role that is ascribed to man in the Creation. Thus the Mediator of the Creation is the same one who as man, as "Son of Man," is to carry out on earth the decisive work of salvation. For the Christian there is only one line of divine activity; all dualism between redemption and creation is eliminated.

In summation let it be said that the author of the Fourth Gospel saw in Jesus the fulfillment of the Old Testament; the Word of God ceased to be expressed in a literature or in a prophecy, and became embodied in man, "The Word became flesh."

⁸⁰W. L. Knox, op. cit., p. 162.

⁸¹W. L. Knox, "The 'Divine Hero' Christology in the New Testament," The Harvard Theological Review, Vol. XLI, V (October, 1948), p. 241.

⁸²Cullmann, op. cit., p. 108.

The early Christians are convinced that in Jesus an absolute victory was won over sin, and freedom obtained. Here again this primitive Christian confidence is not a piece of theologizing; it runs back to the meaning which Jesus assigned to His own actions, which is reflected in the temptation narrative, in the Beelzebub speech, in certain sayings, and in the whole detailed description of the confident manner in which He handled disease.⁸³ It is the creative and re-creative power of the Word that John has in mind in his prologue (1:1-5, 12-14). "Behold I make all things new" is the keynote of the conception. It is this which Paul has expressed earlier in such phrases as "Firstborn of all creation," "Image of the invisible God," "power of God," and "wisdom of God." For John and Paul, and for the author of Hebrews, Jesus was the creative medium used by God to fashion the world, yet it is God's act; it is that which was vividly portrayed in the historic moment of the resurrection. This was God's act of re-creation.

He is the first-born of all creation. . . the first-born from the dead. . . For in him all the fullness of God was pleased to dwell and through him to reconcile to himself all things, whether on earth or in heaven. . . bringing peace by the blood of his cross. (Col. 1:15ff.)

In Christ's death and resurrection all of creation is reconciled to God.

Earlier in the thesis⁸⁴ it has been mentioned that the futuristic element of Jesus' teaching and the New Testament

⁸³Hoskyns and Davey, op. cit., p. 175

⁸⁴See particularly pp. 94ff., 129ff.

writers, although overshadowed by a sense of present victory in the light of His Resurrection and exaltation, was nevertheless present in a marked fashion. Everywhere the New Testament proclaims the newness of life that has been achieved through Christ, yet there remains a continual awareness of the disabilities and limitations which still remain. However these ills are of a type that cannot be relieved by any further movement in earthly history, "but only when that history, reaching its term, shall have yielded place to the perfect blessedness of the heavenly Kingdom."⁸⁵ The earliest Christian confessions did not state that Jesus would one day return to judge the quick and the dead, but that already He reigns as Lord.⁸⁶ "The decisive battle in a war may be fought at a comparatively early stage in the campaign, yet the war may go on for a long time. . . before 'Victory Day' comes."⁸⁷ "Thus the Church must always maintain a realized and futurist eschatology in balance, if never in equipoise."⁸⁸

⁸⁵ John Baillie, The Belief in Progress (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), pp. 189f.

⁸⁶ Cullmann, The Earliest Christian Confessions, pp. 51ff.

⁸⁷ Cullmann, Christ and Time, p. 84.

⁸⁸ John Baillie, op. cit., p. 207.

The symbol of the second coming of Christ can neither be taken literally nor dismissed as unimportant. . . . If the symbol is taken literally the dialectical conception of time and eternity is falsified and the ultimate vindication of God over history is reduced to a point in history. . . . On the other hand if the symbol is dismissed as unimportant . . . the Biblical dialectic is obscured in another direction. All theologies which do not take these symbols seriously will be discovered on close analysis not to take history seriously either. They presuppose an eternity which annuls rather

The new age which has come upon the world Dr. Cullmann would designate as the Kingdom of Christ. This Kingdom is destined to continue until the end of earthly history, when it will give place to the Kingdom of God which then will appear in its fullness. The period of Christ's Kingdom is therefore seen to be coincident with that of the life of the Church as Christ's earthly embodiment.⁸⁹

For as in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive. But each in his own order: Christ and the first fruits, then at his coming those who belong to Christ. Then comes the end, when he delivers the Kingdom to God the Father after destroying every rule and every authority and power. For he must reign until he has put all his enemies under his feet. The last enemy to be destroyed is death.⁹⁰

For this present period, "according to the Primitive Christian faith, the characteristic thing is precisely the fact that the 'world' has already been drawn into the redemptive process."⁹¹ The situation of the present age cannot be forced into a simplified scheme, for the redemptive period lying between Christ's resurrection and the parousia is a complex one; it is

than fulfils the historical process. . . . Against utopianism the Christian faith insists that the final consummation of history lies beyond the conditions of the temporal process. Against other-worldliness it asserts that the consummation fulfils, rather than negates, the historical process. Reinhold Niebuhr, The Nature and Destiny of Man (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1943), Vol. II, 299ff.

⁸⁹Cullmann, Königsherrschaft Christi und Kirche im Neuen Testament, pp. 11ff. See also J. Héring, Le Royaume de Dieu et sa Venue, Paris, 1937, pp. 171ff.

⁹⁰I Cor. 15:22-26. See also Col. 1:13.

⁹¹Cullmann, Christ and Time, p. 212. [*Italics in original*]

determined by the noteworthy tension between past and future, "between 'already fulfilled' and 'not yet fulfilled.' The world is already ruled by Christ, and yet its present 'form' is passing away (I Cor. 7:31)."⁹²

To Christ has been committed everything in heaven and on earth; the knees of all creatures, of those in heaven and upon earth and under the earth, bend before him (Phil. 2:10). The confession *Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός* which every tongue utters signifies that there is no place in all of creation which is not under His Lordship. God has given to Him the name that is above every name, that is, His own name, "Lord."

⁹²loc. cit.

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